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THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

JOHN KETTLEWELL

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

NICHOLAS FERRAR:

His Household and his Friends.

EDITED BY THE REV. T. T. CARTER,

HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

With Portrait engraved after a Picture by Cornelius Janssen.

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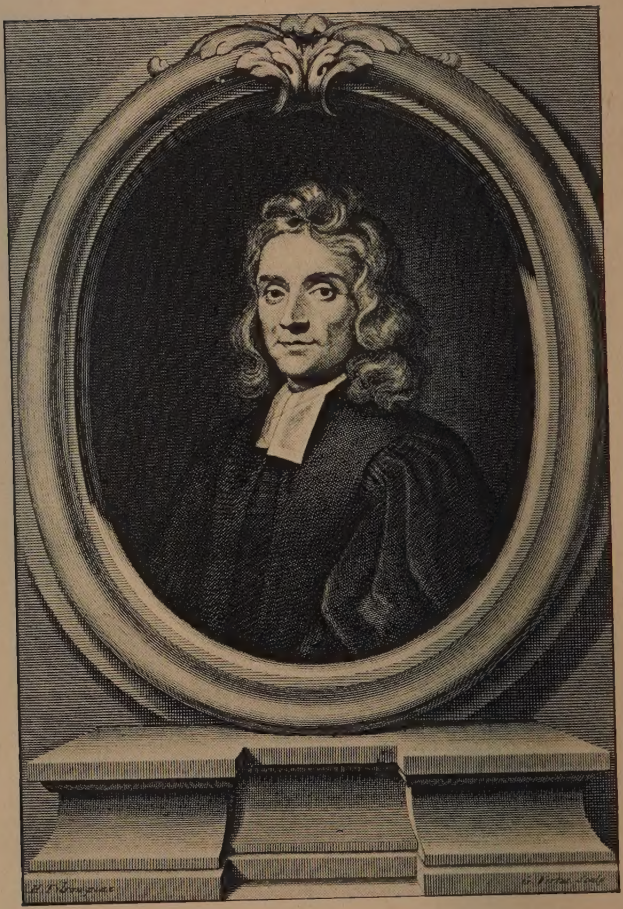

Yor Very much obliged, and
most faithfull Humble Servt
J: Kettlewell.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

JOHN KETTLEWELL

WITH DETAILS OF THE HISTORY OF THE NONJURORS

Jane J. M. Carter.

BY THE AUTHOR OF

"NICHOLAS FERRAR, HIS HOUSEHOLD AND HIS FRIENDS"

EDITED, WITH AN INTRODUCTION,

BY THE REV.

T. T. CARTER, M.A.

HON. CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

WITH PORTRAIT

LONDON

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1895

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INTRODUCTION

THIS volume may be regarded as the sequel of a former work by the same author, "Nicholas Ferrar, his Household and his Friends." The two volumes illustrate a most important period in the later history of the Church of England; the present volume covering a far wider field, and entering more generally into details. It is a history rather than a biography, though Kettlewell appears throughout as the central figure. Kettlewell has been chosen among many who might have been selected, as faithful witnesses of the principles at stake during this period, because, though his life was passed in quiet and unobtrusive ways, he was one of the truest

and most influential of the nonjuring clergy, and the history of the Nonjurors forms the main substance of the volume.

The inner details of the nonjuring movement are here given with touching incidents as to its effect on individual lives and personal interests. Mr. Lathbury's well-known work is the more complete record of the history of the Nonjurors as to all the main features of that eventful movement. But his book is more for scholars than for the general reader. The *minutiæ* and personal incidents have rather to be gathered from various sources, and this has been done by the author of this volume with a very keen interest and genial sympathy. A touching view of the characters and conduct of the chief persons concerned in the movement, as circling round the central figure, thus forms a considerable part of this volume.

The importance of the period illustrated by this narrative consists in this, that it represents the mind of the Church of England as it settled down after the struggles of the Reformation. The Church of England had by this time taken a definite form—the last revision of the Prayer-book at the commencement of the reign of Charles II. having set its seal on the conclusions to which the Church had been led. Although a strong Puritan leaven was at work in the bosom of the Church, yet it still acted as one body, and the great Anglo-Catholic divines of the Elizabethan and Caroline periods witness in unmistakable terms to the principles which form the basis of our belief. There is no period in our later history which so clearly represents the mind of the reformed Church of England as that which, commencing with the reign

of Elizabeth, closes with the Revolution of 1688.

The division into parties, which now so markedly characterizes our condition, had not as yet taken place. This was due to political circumstances, which originated with the Revolution. The enforcement by the new government of the Oath of Allegiance, and the change in the prayers for the new instead of the old Royal Family, brought on the eventful crisis.

It is not surprising that the higher Church party—to use modern language—holding as it did the Church's sacramental system in its integrity, should have adhered firmly, as a matter of unquestionable obligation, to the doctrine, which by that time had grown in strength, of the divine right of kings. They assumed it as absolute truth. How, then, could

they accept the new settlement founded entirely on a parliamentary decree? They would forswear themselves, and substitute human for divine authority.

The body of men who resigned their charge, and with it their means of living, rather than accept the oath and say the prayers, consisted of eight bishops in England, and all the Scotch bishops, with some seven hundred priests holding cures in the two countries, together with a multitude of laymen; that is to say, all who had imbibed, and conscientiously held to, their belief in the divine authority claimed by the exiled sovereign. With this body went necessarily the main stream of the traditions, the instincts, and the tone of thought of the higher Church line, which up to this time had been telling on the mind of the people and the order of government. The extreme gravity of the

occasion was intensified by the substitution of the Scottish Kirk for the Church, confusing as it did the very meaning of the term "Church," as the mystical Body of Christ.

It was at this crisis that what we now call the Broad Church party was formed. Those who took the lead in Church matters were men mostly of an excellent kind, but unavoidably leavened in general by latitudinarian tendencies—principles of accommodation to State exigencies. And a lower order of things, affecting Church doctrine as well as practice, prevailed. The eighteenth century bears sufficient testimony to the effects of the loss of the higher section of Churchmen. It is true that, as years went on, though the greater number died in their state of isolation, many lived to creep back into the Church's communion. Yet they had no longer power

to shape or influence the Church's progress. Their presence was lost sight of in the general course of a new order of things.

I have said that our present divided state proceeded from political causes. It was so evidently in the case of the Broad Church party. Indirectly, at least, it was the same with the Evangelical movement. For this arose as a reaction from the spiritual decline which ensued upon the loss of the higher Church section, due, as we have seen, to the action of the new government.

Had these and such-like facts been duly recognized at the rising of the Oxford movement—had it been seen, as it has since been understood, that this movement, at least in its main principles, was a revival, a recovery of lost treasures of the Church's earlier and truer state, and that to plead for them was but to claim

what had not been really lost, according to the law of continuity and perpetual life of the Catholic Church—how different might the last half-century of English Church life have been! But the interval had been long, and lower principles had taken possession of the minds of men.

This volume appears to me to exhibit faithfully and well, and in clear detail, the circumstances and condition of thought characterizing a period the issue of which had such eventful consequences upon our present state. It is no exaggeration to say that it is impossible to take a fair view of our present condition—how it has come to be, how the divisions of the present day were occasioned, what the claims of the higher section of the Church are, and the grounds on which they rest—without fully considering the history of the period which this volume illustrates.

It is with sincere belief of the interest and value of its contents that I venture to commend this volume, and with good hopes of its serving to advance true views of what GOD has given us to uphold for the welfare of our Lord's kingdom.

T. T. C.

CLEWER,
September, 1895.

PREFATORY NOTE

THE following sketch is founded on the "Memoirs of the Life of Mr. *John Kettlewell*, sometime Fellow of *Lincoln College* in *Oxford*, and Vicar of *Coleshill* in *Warwickshire*, in the Diocese of *Litchfield*. Wherein is contained some account of the TRANSACTIONS of his time. Compiled from the Collections of *Dr.* GEORGE HICKES, and ROBERT NELSON, Esq." This biography was published in 1718, without the name of the compiler, but it is well known to have been the work of a brother Nonjuror, the devoted friend of Robert Nelson, Francis Lee, physician and mystic. It was reprinted in 1719, together with

Kettlewell's collected works, in two volumes folio. The references in this volume are to the first edition.

Some of Kettlewell's letters, not contained in the Memoirs, have been added from MSS. in the Bodleian, and one, by the kindness of Captain Bagot, M.P., from the library at Levens Hall.

Lee's work has an interest wider than the personal history of John Kettlewell. It is one of the chief authorities for the early history of the nonjuring movement. For the period subsequent to Kettlewell's death (in 1695) the writer has been mainly indebted to the "History of the Nonjurors," by the Rev. T. Lathbury, M.A.

Grateful thanks are due to the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, of St. John's College, Cambridge, for notes and references concerning Kettlewell's life; and to the Rev. J. L. Fish, Vicar of St. Margaret Pattens,

for the loan of an interesting volume of MSS. notes on the later Nonjurors.

The portrait of Kettlewell is reproduced from the frontispiece to the collected edition of his works, and the facsimile of his handwriting is taken from the signature of the letter printed on page 208 of this volume.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I.

1653–1678.

PAGE

PLACE OF THE NONJURORS IN HISTORY—JOHN KETTLEWELL A REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS PARTY—HIS PARENTAGE, BIRTH, AND CHILDHOOD 1

CHAPTER II.

1670–1678.

LIFE AT OXFORD—ORDINATION—APPOINTMENT AS CHAPLAIN TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD . . 13

CHAPTER III.

1682–1685.

FIRST YEARS AT COLESHILL 25

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE REIGN OF JAMES II. . . . 44

CHAPTER V.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE REIGN OF JAMES II.—(*continued*) 63

CHAPTER VI.

1687–1688.

PAGE

JAMES II. DETERMINES TO REMOVE ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES — DECLARATION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE—REFUSAL OF BISHOPS TO ORDER READING OF DECLARATION—THEIR TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL—BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES . 74

CHAPTER VII.

1688–1689.

LOYAL ADDRESSES ON THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—LETTER FROM WAKE—THE PRIMATE'S ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY—LANDING OF WILLIAM —FEELINGS OF HIGH CHURCHMEN—FLIGHT OF THE KING — KETTLEWELL ABSENTS HIMSELF WHEN WILLIAM AND MARY ARE PROCLAIMED AT COLESHILL, AND CONTINUES TO PRAY FOR KING JAMES 92

CHAPTER VIII.

1689.

IMPOSITION OF THE OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE—SANCROFT FORBIDS PRAYERS FOR WILLIAM AND MARY IN HIS CHAPEL—DIFFICULTIES OF THE CLERGY— KETTLEWELL'S LETTER TO SHERLOCK ON THE DUTY OF ALLEGIANCE—TILLOTSON'S VIEW OF DIVINE RIGHT—VIEWS OF DR. FITZWILLIAM, BISHOP KEN, AND DODWELL—OATH REFUSED BY EIGHT BISHOPS AND ALMOST FOUR HUNDRED CLERGY 108

CHAPTER IX.

1690–1691.

PAGE

THE NONJURORS DURING THEIR SUSPENSION—PROTEST AND DEATH OF THE BISHOPS OF WORCESTER AND CHICHESTER—DEAN GRANVILLE LEAVES DURHAM AND RETIRES TO THE CONTINENT—SERVICES AT ELY HOUSE FORBIDDEN—SHERLOCK AND SOME OTHERS TAKE THE OATHS—PUBLICATIONS OF THE JACOBITE LITURGY—BISHOPS CHARGED WITH PUTTING FORTH THE LITURGY, AND INVITING FOREIGNERS TO ATTACK THE COUNTRY—KETTLEWELL PROSECUTED FOR PRAYING FOR KING JAMES—THE DEPRIVATION OF NONJURING CLERGY TAKES EFFECT — SANCROFT FORCED TO LEAVE LAMBETH—PROTESTS OF FRAMPTON, KEN, AND HICKES—KETTLEWELL PUBLISHES PRAYERS FOR THOSE WHO SUFFER FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS . . . 124

CHAPTER X.

1691–1692.

THE NONJURORS UNDER CONSTANT SUSPICION—KETTLEWELL SETTLES IN LONDON—FRIENDSHIP WITH ROBERT NELSON—ORATORIES OF THE NONJURORS — SANCROFT APPOINTS LLOYD TO ACT AS HIS VICAR—CONSECRATION OF INTRUDING BISHOPS—DODWELL RETIRES TO SHOTTESBROOK—FRANCIS CHERRY — PENITENCE OF SOME COMPLYING CLERGY 148

CHAPTER XI.

1691–1693.

PAGE

SANCROFT AT FRESINGFIELD—QUESTION OF CONSECRATING SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS—HICKES AND WAGSTAFFE NOMINATED AS SUFFRAGANS BY JAMES II.—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF SANCROFT . . 173

CHAPTER XII.

1693–1695.

KETTLEWELL'S LATER WORKS—PLAN FOR RELIEVING THE NEEDS OF THE DEPRIVED CLERGY—TRIAL OF COLLIER AND OTHERS FOR GIVING ABSOLUTION TO CONDEMNED JACOBITES—BISHOPS SUMMONED BEFORE PRIVY COUNCIL ON CHARGE OF COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR DEPRIVED CLERGY 187

CHAPTER XIII.

1694–1695.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KETTLEWELL—HIS WIFE—LIST OF HIS WORKS 206

CHAPTER XIV.

1695–1710.

DEATH OF JAMES II.—SCHEMES IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON—DEATH OF WILLIAM III.—QUEEN ANNE FAVOURABLE TO THE CHURCH—BISHOP KEN RESIGNS IN FAVOUR OF HOOPER—DEATHS OF

PAGE

TURNER, WHITE, FRAMPTON, AND LLOYD—RETURN OF DODWELL, NELSON, AND OTHERS TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH—DEATHS OF DODWELL AND KEN 229

CHAPTER XV.

1711–1716.

CONSECRATION OF HAWES, SPINCKES, AND COLLIER—HOPES OF RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS—PUBLICATION OF "HEREDITARY RIGHT"—PUNISHMENT OF THE EDITOR AT INSTANCE OF HANOVERIAN MINISTER—ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—GENERAL IMPOSITION OF ABJURATION OATH—FRESH DEPRIVATIONS—PERSECUTION OF HIGH CHURCHMEN—DECLINE OF THE CHURCH—DEATHS OF NELSON AND HICKES 246

CONCLUSION.

1716–1788.

INCREASE OF NONJURORS IN CONSEQUENCE OF OATH OF ABJURATION — FURTHER CONSECRATIONS — DIVISION ON QUESTION OF THE USAGES—REUNION—CORRESPONDENCE WITH EASTERN CHURCH — WILLIAM LAW—EFFECT OF THE "SERIOUS CALL"—GRADUAL DIMINUTION OF NONJURORS—DEATH OF CHARLES EDWARD BRINGS SEPARATION TO A CLOSE—RESULT OF THE NONJURING MOVEMENT ON CONDITION OF THE CHURCH . . . 265

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1653-1678.

PLACE OF THE NONJURORS IN HISTORY—JOHN KETTLEWELL A REPRESENTATIVE OF HIS PARTY—HIS PARENTAGE, BIRTH, AND CHILDHOOD.

"As Time one day by me did pass,
Through a large dusky glasse
He held, I chanced to look,
And spyed his curious Book
Of past days, wherein Heaven did shed
A mourning light upon the dead.

"Many disordered lines I saw,
And foul records which thaw
My kinde eyes still; but in
A fair, white page of thin
And ev'n smooth lines, like the Sun's rays,
Thy name was writ, and all thy days."

HENRY VAUGHAN.

THE history of the Nonjurors is identified with that of a lost cause, with fallen hopes, and unsuccessful lives. It is perhaps for this reason that it has not attracted much attention, and that its historians appeal more to the student than to the general reader.

But disappointment and unsuccess have virtues of their own, and unfashionable truths may sometimes, like sculptures smothered in whitewash, wear the better for their temporary obscuration. An old poet sings that

> "Dust, I did observe,
> By hiding doth preserve;
> As we for long and sure recruits
> Candy with sugar our choice fruits."

If, as may be generally thought, the Nonjurors were on some points mistaken, their mistakes were of a noble sort, and their sincerity has never been questioned. "What I have done," said Archbishop Sancroft on his death-bed, "I have done in the integrity of my heart; indeed, in the great integrity of my heart." Moreover, the archbishop, and those who went with him, represented what was best and highest in the Reformed Church. They were the men who firmly upheld Catholic antiquity as against Puritan innovations, while their immediate standpoint was resistance to an excess of State interference in spiritual matters. It is not a small thing that these views should have been associated with unswerving truth, and with a line of conduct which, however mistaken or unwise, had the merit of absolute unworldliness.

The aim of this volume is to give a brief sketch of the separation of the Nonjurors from the Established

Church, its cause, and its consequences. It seemed easier, and may, it is hoped, prove more interesting, to collect the scattered threads of history round a central figure; and the life of John Kettlewell has been chosen for this purpose, partly for the sake of the purity and uprightness of his character, which made him in his own time an object of special affection, partly on account of the weight attached by his friends to his calm and steady judgment.

Though in itself but the uneventful life of a busy parish priest, varied only by a single striking incident, yet perhaps for that very reason it may be regarded as a representative life; and in consequence of the event which shattered its quiet routine, he was placed among the leaders of a body whose influence on the history of the English Church, though indirect, has been deep and abiding.

John Kettlewell came of a sturdy, hard-working stock, which had been settled in Yorkshire for many generations. His friend and biographer, Dean Hickes,[1] endeavours to show that the Kettlewells were allied to the De Cassalis of Germany, and the Ketels of Holland, including a certain John Ketel, or Johannes Cacabus, whose claim to remembrance rests on the

[1] The writer has ventured to assume that the first chapter of the life of Kettlewell, which is full of personal reminiscences, is wholly or chiefly written by Hickes.

fact that his life was written by Thomas à Kempis; but the first of his ancestors of whom we have any knowledge is his great-grandfather, a merchant adventurer at Hedon, an ancient and once busy port on the Humber, of which the harbour has long since been choked with sand. This gentleman was "a Person of good account in the country, had the Reputation of a just Man, and of a useful member of the Body Politick; and he married a wife of a good fortune, by whom he had several children, whom he took care to dispose of in the best Manner."[1] The trade of Hedon was already passing away to the neighbouring port of Hull, and Mr. Kettlewell, having a brother established as a merchant at Northallerton, sent one of his sons to join him. Here the young man remained, "exercising Merchandise" with varying success, and left behind him a son to carry on the family tradition of honourable labour. This son married Elizabeth Ogle, "a very religious gentlewoman of an ancient and honourable family," at some time during the Great Rebellion. Northallerton was anything but a quiet dwelling-place through these eventful years. At one time it was the head-quarters of Strafford; later on the troops of Fairfax were quartered in the town, and Cromwell himself passed by on his way to Scotland. Twice King Charles is said to have been an inmate of an

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," chap. i.

ancient house in the street, known as the Porch House; first in 1641, as the guest of the loyal family of Metcalfe, to whose representatives it still belongs; and again in 1647, when a prisoner in the hands of the Commissioners of the Parliament. The noble parish church, of which the foundation is ascribed to St. Paulinus, suffered in these troubles, if we may judge by the fact that in 1662 the churchwardens had to place a new font on the broken base of the old one, supposed to have been destroyed in the course of the Rebellion, and the loyal vicar, Mr. Blakiston, was ejected in favour of one Thomas Mann, who took forcible possession on a Sunday during Divine service. "'Coming into church as Mr. Blaikeston was reading one of the lessons, and producing a document by which he claimed the living under the then usurpation, he first turned Mr. Blaikeston out of the reading desk, and then getting up into the pulpit, made there a long prayer and a longer sermon.'"[1]

It is not surprising that Mr. Kettlewell, desiring to find a more peaceful home for his young wife, perhaps also to avoid, without attracting too much notice, the ministrations of Mr. Mann, left his house at Northallerton for the neighbouring village of Brompton,

[1] "History of Northallerton," by the Rev. J. L. Saywell, F.S.Sc. Thomas Mann was apparently in orders, as he contrived to retain the living till 1669.

where he had inherited or acquired a small farm named Lowfields. In this farm were born his four children, three sons and a daughter. The third child and second son, John, the future Nonjuror and subject of this memoir, was born on the 10th of March, 1653.

The eldest son died in infancy, and as a thank-offering for the life of the little John, his father resolved that he should never be compelled to follow the occupation of his ancestors, nor any other secular employment, "if another way of Merchandising were both more safe for him, and better suited to those talents which God had committed him to traffic withal." With this prospect did "the secondary Author of his Being, after mature consideration, freely consecrate him, as being both his firstborn that lived, and as having also the seal of the Divine Grace stamped upon his Soul, and did offer him up to God to serve at His Altar, when he should be grown up and qualified, and both his Father and Mother were not a little thankful, and did unanimously there concur in this Dedication of him to the Gracious Giver, though the first lived not to see that executed which his heart had vowed, and was the desire of his soul."

The boy was but six years old when his good father was taken from him. Dean Hickes, who was at school at Northallerton, and left it for Oxford in 1659, three

years before Mr. Kettlewell's death, has left a character of him gathered from the affectionate recollections of friends, and perhaps also from personal remembrance. He was "a Person very much esteemed where he lived, and was thence frequently called upon to be a Peacemaker and Mediator where any difference did arise among the neighbours; they generally depending upon him, for his great Impartiality, Solidity of Judgement, as well as Experience and Candour. He had the character of a Man of strict Justice, and a fair trader, one hating covetousness, and making a conscience both in buying and selling, and therefore abhorring to overreach another for the prospect of any worldly gain whatever. He was also of a most sweet and obliging disposition, ready to do good service to all according to his utmost power; and though it pleased Almighty God to afflict him with several losses, and though his father left him somewhat encumbered, yet never could he be persuaded by any unjustifiable (though never so ordinary and popular) Method, to attempt the bettering of his estate in this world, but was always for committing himself and his affairs wholly to the wise and good disposal of Providence, in the due discharge of his Vocation, as no otherwise desiring to be blessed in it, but so far as he should be found therein industrious and faithful, and seeking thereby the glory of God ultimately."

Mrs. Kettlewell devoted herself to her fatherless children with the tenderest care. Her son John ever remembered her with deep and grateful love, as a mother—"travailing with him in birth again, that the heavenly life might be formed in him by the operation of the Divine Spirit, upon his tender and passive soul."

He was a beautiful and healthful child, the special darling both of his mother and sister, on account of the remarkable resemblance which he bore to his dead father; he was like him, not only in look and manner, but also in his sensitive conscience and sweet and generous temper, and the little girl loved him, though he was two or three years younger than herself, "as if he had been her Father," of whom she said long after, when recalling these early days, "he was the Fairest Draught and Image." She had "never known anything of him, as long as she could remember, but what was good beyond expression."

The child early showed a great inclination for learning, and a "mighty capacity" for it;[1] and as soon as he outgrew the teaching of the little village school at Brompton, he was put to the ancient

[1] John Kettlewell seems not to have been the first of his family to distinguish himself as a scholar:

"One Seth Kettlewell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, has verses in Genethliacum Academiæ Cantabrigiensis, 1631, p. 228. His death, Duports Sylvæ, p. 473."—*Note kindly communicated by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor.*

grammar school[1] at Northallerton, of which the master, Richard Smelt, was a man of considerable reputation, who numbered among his pupils men still remembered for their learning. Among them were Thomas Rymer, Dr. Radclyffe, founder of the library which bears his name, and, as already mentioned, George Hickes, afterwards Dean of Worcester, Kettlewell's lifelong friend.

Mr. Smelt was a man of strong character. In his earlier life he was intemperate; yet, though sometimes drunk for two days together, he managed, by some mysterious gift of discipline, to keep his boys in order, and to teach them so thoroughly that his fault was overlooked by their parents, and his school was always full. Suddenly, influenced, as his scholars believed, by some vision which had confronted him as he walked in the fields, he gave up his evil habit, and became from that time "a monument and pattern of strict Temperance and Sobriety to his dying day." He was a stout Royalist, and grounded his boys not only in Greek and Latin, but in those principles of strict loyalty and obedience to which some of his pupils adhered faithfully in after-times. When the sound of the drums of the Commonwealth soldiery came through the grammar school windows, the boys

[1] This school was in existence as early as 1327. There is an endowment for four free scholars, and it possesses scholarships both at Peterhouse and Lincoln College.

observed that their master's countenance fell, and it was long before he recovered his usual looks. He would never grant the holidays for which kindly officers—friends, perhaps, of the boys' parents—would sometimes beg; and upon one occasion, when some of his scholars petitioned General Lambert to procure them a "play-day," the schoolmaster not only refused the great man's request, but chastised the petitioners very severely, and "had like to have turned them out of the school." "I remember," says Hickes, "when we came to read Homer, he would take occasion from the many passages in that Poet which the learned know are written for the honour of Kings, to read us lectures against Rebels and Regicides, whom he compared to the Gyants that fight against the Gods; I do now offer all humble thanks to God that by his means I first received that Light which made me first discern the Iniquity of the Times in which I was born and hitherto bred."

It is probable that Mr. Smelt, like other loyal schoolmasters of that date,[1] had to atone for his

[1] So Dr. Stephens, master of the school at Bury St. Edmund's in the worst of those times, "in his family used the forms of loyalty and orthodoxy; but being reputed little better than a malignant, he was forced to use outwardly an occasional conformity by observing the church duties and days of super-hypocritical fastings and seekings wherein the people in those days were tormented, though now worn out of almost all credibility; and he walked to church after his brigade of boys, there

opinions by some outward conformity with the demands of the ruling powers, and that when little John Kettlewell first took his place in the old schoolroom, he attended, with the other scholars, the services held by Mr. Mann according to the ordinance of the Commonwealth.

Mr. Smelt, though so admirable a master, was in his temper "a mixture of choler and sanguine," and a great terror to his duller pupils, whom he was accustomed to chastise with as much severity as if their failures were due to carelessness. Kettlewell, himself a quick and apt scholar, often came to the rescue of his unlucky companions, and wrote their lessons for them, much distressed the while that he must "make his exercises so meanly" lest the authorship should be suspected, which sometimes happened in spite of his precaution, so that when their master overlooked the exercise he would say "that he feared Kettlewell had been with them."

The boy, young as he was, helped his companions in other ways less common than this surreptitious assistance in their lessons. He had a sweet persuasive manner, which enabled him without offence to take the "endearing liberty" of pointing out their faults,

to endure the infliction of divers holders forth, tiring themselves and everybody else, and by these means he made shift to hold his school."—"Lives of the Norths," iii. 278. The good doctor showed his joy at the Restoration by taking his "brigade of boys" to church in scarlet cloaks.

so that many among his schoolfellows were reformed through his advice and help. Even as a child he would often retire for secret prayer, and would try to bring his friends to do the same, "and the grace of God begat in him betimes such a hatred of sin and of the least appearance of evil, that to prevent the same he would not only watch over himself, but over as many also as he did love and could be familiar with."

Two incidents only of his school-days are recorded: one, a severe illness with threatening signs of consumption, from which he recovered through the tender nursing of his mother; the other, that mother's second marriage, which, though there is no reason to suppose any unsuitableness in his stepfather, he counted among the grievous troubles and disappointments of his life.

His entrance at the university, for which he had been destined from childhood, was delayed through failure of the promised assistance of a friend. He was nearly seventeen when some kind-hearted neighbour recommended him to the notice of Dr. Thomas Tully, Principal of St. Edmund's Hall, who was so much pleased with the promising boy that he appointed him his own servitor.

Kettlewell was entered at St. Edmund's Hall on his seventeenth birthday, the 10th of March, 1670, and matriculated on the 11th of November in the same year.

CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1670–1678.

LIFE AT OXFORD — ORDINATION — APPOINTMENT AS CHAPLAIN TO THE COUNTESS OF BEDFORD.

"My Mother! green as erst and pure
Thy willows wave, thy meeting waters glide;
Untarnished on thy matron breast endure
The treasured gems, thy youth's delight and pride,
Firm Loyalty, serene and fond,
Wearing untired her lofty bond;
Awful Reverence, bending low
Where'er the heavens their radiance throw;
And Wisdom's mate, Simplicity,
That in the gloom dares trust the guiding star on high."

REV. JOHN KEBLE.

OXFORD was at this time gradually rising from the depths to which it had fallen through twenty years of war, through siege, and spoliation, and ignorant misrule. When the university was freed from the "chains of darkness and confusion," as Wood calls the administration provided by the Commonwealth, religion, learning, and manners were alike in need of a reforming hand.

Among the most memorable of those who exerted themselves to restore the ancient discipline, was Dr. John Fell, Dean of Christ Church, and afterwards Bishop of Oxford and vice-chancellor. He had been connected with the university from his childhood, and was entered as a student at Christ Church when only eleven years old, by favour of his father, who preceded him in the deanery. At the outbreak of the Rebellion, together with all his fellow-students, one hundred in number, he left his college to join the royal army; but when the king's cause failed, he returned to Oxford, determined to serve his sovereign and his country by his prayers, since he could no longer do so by his arms. In 1647 he was privately ordained by Bishop Skinner, and from that time, with the help of his friends—Allestree, afterwards Provost of Eton, and Dolben, the future Archbishop of York—he kept up the forbidden service of the Church, first in their rooms at Christ Church, and, after their ejection in 1648, in a private house opposite Merton, belonging to Fell's brother-in-law, Dr. Willis.

When, at the Restoration, Fell was appointed to the deanery of Christ Church, he was reckoned "the most zealous man of his time for the Church of England." He exerted his utmost power "to reduce the University, both in Discipline and Opinion, to that state in which it was when Archbishop Laud was Chancellor." And as though the silent voice of the great

archbishop might be heard for ever in the Oxford which he loved, his relics were brought from their grave in the sanctuary of All Hallows, Barking, hard by the place of his martyrdom, and laid beneath the altar of his own St. John's.

Dr. Fell set a public example of devotion, himself attending Divine service four times a day. He was a strict disciplinarian, and enforced regular attendance on lectures, and the wearing of the academical dress. The Bell Tower and Canons' Buildings at Christ Church, and the palace at Cuddesdon, still bear witness to his generous zeal, and the building of the Sheldonian theatre, by which an end was put to the irreverent practice of holding disputations in St. Mary's, was due to his influence.

"The great Dr. Fell," says Roger North, "was truly great in all his circumstances, capacities, undertakings, and learning, and, above all, for his superabundant public spirit and good will, which shined in his care of youth, especially those of quality in the university. O the felicity of that age and place where his authority swayed!"[1]

North had not himself felt the weight of that authority. Fell's vigorous administration was not always popular. The young men who in their childhood had listened eagerly to stories of sieges and battles carried on in their own neighbourhood, who had seen

[1] "Lives of the Norths," iii. 318.

soldiers quartered forcibly in their homes, and spent holidays in watching troops take possession of a surrendered town, brought the manners of the camp into the university. Even grave and learned persons were not exempt from the taint of lawlessness. One Peers grievously offended Anthony Wood by the way in which he translated his works into Latin, and was in consequence frequently compelled to hide from the irate antiquary; for when they met, "Peers always cometh off with a bloody nose or a black eye."[1]

An undergraduate member of "the House," who had probably himself incurred the dean's censure, recorded his feeling in the well-known lines—

> "I do not like you, Dr. Fell,
> The reason why I cannot tell;
> But this I know full well,
> I do not like you, Dr. Fell."

But, popular or not, the vice-chancellor's influence was immense, and "next to Dr. Busby, he had perhaps more to do with the training of rising Churchmen than any man living."[2]

Some of the improvements, material and moral, which marked the first years of the Restoration at Oxford, were already effected, others were still in progress, when Kettlewell came up to the university

[1] Quoted in "Oxford" by Mr. Andrew Lang.

[2] "Life in the English Church from 1660 to 1710," by Rev. J. H. Overton.

in 1670. His strict and pious training, his poverty and dependent condition, alike helped to shield him from the temptations of the new world to which he was now introduced, and he was further protected by the fatherly kindness of Dr. Tully, whose special "servant" he was, the good man taking him to live in his own lodgings, and treating him like a son.

He had another friend whose countenance was of great service to him at this time. Mr. Smelt recommended him to the good offices of his old pupil George Hickes, now a Fellow and tutor of Lincoln, and Hickes evidently felt it both a duty and a pleasure to look after a boy from Northallerton. He did not content himself with mere civilities, but made frequent and strict inquiries into Kettlewell's conduct and progress, and the busy tutor even found time for long talks with the young undergraduate, and took great interest in his improvement. He has left a picture of Kettlewell's appearance and manner at this time. "As to his Person, he was a youth of very comely form; his eyes were Lively and Radiant, his Cheeks Ruddy, his Forehead large and clear, and his Face round, inclining to an Oval, in which there was an Angelical mixture of Manly Beauty and Sweetness with Gravity; Sprightly, Cheerful, with a Serious air, and all the lines and Signatures of a Sweet Temper, and of an ingenious and honest Mind. More especially when he spoke his Animal Spirits came in

such plenty to his Face that a Lustre and Brightness appeared upon it like a sort of natural glory, which in the first approaches made him grateful and acceptable to strangers, and after he grew to be a man, commanded not only the attention, but the Reverence and Veneration of all that discoursed with him."[1]

The portrait is drawn by a dear and lifelong friend, but allowing for some affectionate exaggeration, it is evident that the glowing bright-faced boy was a general favourite. "Some said that there was a certain grace that did appear in his actions that was altogether inexpressible." He was very sociable, full of friendly generous impulses; he took "an extraordinary delight" in making little presents to his friends, and "the manner of doing this was that which always exceeded the thing itself." No doubt he joined in one of the musical societies for which Oxford was then distinguished, for he had the Yorkshire love and gift for music in a high degree. After the usual fashion of clever youths, he was greatly given to argument and controversy on every possible subject, and when at dinner in hall, or in his walks about the town, his thick and stammering voice (defects which he overcame in later years) was constantly to be heard disputing some knotty point of philosophy, morality, or religion, but the sweetness

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," part i.

of his temper was so great that these perpetual discussions never led to any breach of friendship.

During the five years that he remained at St. Edmund's Hall, he gained a distinguished character for scholarship, especially for his skill in Greek, and yet higher praise for his careful observance of discipline, having in all the time "never committed any one Fault for which he incurred the least Censure, as by neglect or omission of public exercises, or Prayers, or coming Tardy to them; nor was there ever the least complaint made of him by any of his Equals, which is a most certain proof of his inoffensive behaviour, and Consciencious observance of the Statutes and established Discipline of the House."

In 1675, soon after he had taken his B.A. degree, a Yorkshire fellowship at Lincoln became vacant through the resignation of Dr. John Radclyffe, and by the good offices of Hickes, Kettlewell was unanimously elected to the vacant place. He was soon appointed a tutor, and during the five years he held this office he worked hard. He was not merely a diligent teacher, he was also very vigilant in his observation of the life and conversation of his pupils, "upon the principle that he was instead of a Father as well as a Master to them, and as a Father was answerable to GOD for their souls." "GOD," said the rector, as he noted the earnest and conscientious work of his new Fellow, "hath sent us a blessing in this young man."

On the 10th of June, 1677, Kettlewell was ordained deacon in Christ Church Cathedral, by Bishop Fell, and became priest on the 24th of February in the following year. His mind was already set on pastoral work, and he employed such leisure as his pupils left him in preparing a stock of sermons "fitted for the country," where he hoped his future lot might be cast. Though he had cured himself of stammering, his voice was never good, but he took much pains with his delivery, and he had an affectionate manner, which, "as by one Fire enkindling another," went straight to the hearts of his hearers. It was remembered that one of the first sermons which he preached in Oxford was upon the "Assistance of the Holy Spirit." His sermons, contrary to the fashion of the time, were free from all parade of learning; it was said of him that "he preferred taking his degree in the *School of the Cross* to the highest which the University could confer upon him," and both in preaching and writing his aim was to influence conduct rather than to win admiration. "This," says his biographer quaintly, "is the real ground of his writing sometimes in a low stile Adapted to the Capacity of Every Common Reader," and is also the reason why "some things which might have been expressed shorter, are set forth at large" in his voluminous works, rather to the obscuring of their real beauty.

The first of these, the once popular "Measures of Christian Obedience," was written during his tutorship at Lincoln, as he tells us in the preface, "to serve the spiritual necessities of a truly pious soul." It is an elaborate treatise on the practical duties of the Christian life, and is his first essay in that earnest dealing with souls which formed the chief work of his later life. His friend George Hickes, now become Vicar of All Hallows, Barking, persuaded him to dedicate the book to the Bishop of London, Compton, in the hope of securing for its author some preferment in his diocese; but, as matters turned out, a more inappropriate patron could scarcely have been found for a book in which submission to lawful authority is placed high among Christian duties; and when, a few years later, Bishop Compton, in military attire, appeared at the head of a troop of horse gathered to resist their hereditary sovereign, Kettlewell had the dedication carefully erased from every copy which remained unsold.

The book recommended him to another person, whose political opinions differed as widely from his own as did those of Compton, but who could deeply appreciate his piety and solid practical teaching. In the year 1678 or 1679, the Countess of Bedford, mother to William, Lord Russell, made Kettlewell her chaplain.

Of this period of his life no details have been

preserved, but Kettlewell did not shrink from the clear expression of his views, different as they were from those of his patrons, and with "discreet inoffensive boldness" he preached on the duty of non-resistance to the royal authority on the 30th of January, the 29th of May, "and other such days which seem to require sermons of that nature." It is easy to imagine that Bedford House must have been the scene of rather lively controversies when Kettlewell chanced to encounter "that truly glorious person, Mr. Samuel Johnson," as Calamy calls the domestic chaplain of William, Lord Russell, who about this time distinguished himself by the publication of a work named "Julian the Apostate," which contained "a parallel artfully drawn between the Emperor Julian and the Duke of York."[1]

It was "no small affliction" to Kettlewell to find that no arguments which he could use produced any effect on Lord Russell's mind, "and that he saw it not in his power to be so serviceable to his Lordship as he could have wished to have been; or by any endeavours of his, in the discharge of his Duty, to prevent that which there was ground enough to

[1] Johnson was a particular favourite with Lord Russell. "No man signalized himself more in this contest [against arbitrary government] than that truly glorious person, Mr. Samuel Johnson, . . . though not a little opposed by Mr. John Kettlewell, who was at the same time chaplain to that lord's mother."—Calamy, "Own Times," i. 93. For this reference the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor.

apprehend and Fear. Notwithstanding this, he persued on with all the Meekness and Wisdom which did not a little adorn his character, to do all that was possible in so difficult a Post to do, for the true Interest of one whose Happiness both in Time and in Eternity he had very much at heart."

It was not very likely that a young man, wholly ignorant of the great world, his views moulded by the traditions of the university, and his arguments enforced by quotations from the Fathers, should exert much influence on the experienced statesman whose life had been passed in scenes so different; but the intercourse of sincere and upright souls can never be wholly fruitless. Kettlewell's gentle and conciliatory spirit, the tolerance which he showed to those from whom he differed most sharply, may have been partly the result of his acquaintance with Lord Russell and his saintly wife; and though Russell was unmoved by the chaplain's arguments, he respected his character, and from the scaffold on which he died, for principles opposed on every point to Kettlewell's teaching, he sent him a message of kind remembrance.

Before that sorrowful morning came, Kettlewell had resigned his post at Bedford House. It must have been with extreme relief that, in 1682, when the excitement of the Popish Plot and the Exclusion Bill had brought the difference of feeling between himself and the family to whom he ministered into strong

relief, he received the offer of the vicarage of Coleshill, a small market town about eighteen miles from Warwick.

In the following year he gave up the Fellowship which he had held "with honour to himself and the house" for eight years. "I, John Kettlewell, perpetual Fellow of Lincoln College in the University of Oxford"—so runs the entry in the register—"do of my own Motion and freely, resign all the right which I have in the said Society or Fellowship, into the hands of Mr. Rector, and the Fellows of the same; wishing them all and every one, with their successors, Piety, Peace, Candour, and all manner of Happiness, in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Amen."[1]

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," p. 82.

CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1682–1685.

FIRST YEARS AT COLESHILL.

"A pastor is the deputy of Christ for the reducing of man to the obedience of God."—G. HERBERT.

> "His flock among,
> The learned Pastor dwells, their watchful Lord.
> Though meek and patient as a sheathèd sword,
> . . . . . .
> Conjures, implores, and labours all he can
> For resubjecting to Divine command
> The stubborn spirit of rebellious Man."
>
> W. WORDSWORTH.

THE patronage of the living of Coleshill was, and still remains, in the hands of the Digby family. In 1682, Simon, Lord Digby, "a young man of the truest tenderness of conscience as well as of honour," was head of the house; when the vicarage became vacant, he offered it to John Rawlett, lecturer of St. Nicholas', Newcastle, assuring him that "as it was his own great concern to provide the parish one who would have

the honour of God and the salvation of souls above all things at heart, so the great character he had heard of him as such induced him to make choice of him." Rawlett, a Warwickshire man, would have liked to accept the offer, but his congregation entreated him not to leave them, and he had not the heart to resist their affectionate importunity. He was acquainted with Kettlewell, whose stepfather lived at Newcastle, and warmly recommended him to Lord Digby, as a most suitable person for such a charge. In support of his opinion, he referred to the "Measures of Christian Obedience." It is probable that Lord Digby had already heard of Kettlewell through his wife, a daughter of Lady Russell's sister, Lady Gainsborough. He now read the book suggested by Rawlett, and it impressed him so favourably that he offered the living to its author.

On Sunday, the 10th of October, Kettlewell read himself in, in the beautiful old church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul, which crowns the hill on which the little town lies, above the river Cole. The place was in some respects well cared for. A free grammar school, founded by Kildare, Lord Digby, in the reign of James I., provided for the education of boys of the higher class, and a school for the poor owed its origin to an endowment left by Dame Alice Digby for a yearly obit in memory of her husband, and a silver penny every day to a child, chosen in turn, from each house

in the village, who, kneeling at the altar before the sacring of the Mass, should say certain prayers for the soul of her husband and all good Christian souls. At the Reformation this endowment was seized by the Crown, but the parishioners bought it back and founded a school therewith, Dame Alice's desires being so far respected that a child was sent daily to the church to repeat the Lord's Prayer in the presence of the clerk—a curious survival of which the original intention was probably forgotten.

As we are told that Kettlewell took great pains to supply the poor with Bibles and religious books, especially that highly valued work, the "Whole Duty of Man," we may gather that the schools had done their work,[1] and that the greater part of the parishioners of Coleshill were able to read, but they had had little teaching in higher things. The misrule of the Commonwealth had told heavily everywhere, and with special force in the country parishes; and the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry, to which Coleshill then belonged, was at this time peculiarly unfortunate. Wood, the unworthy successor of the munificent Hacket, "had no interest in his diocese." He refused to rebuild his episcopal house, though he had received money for the purpose from Bishop Hacket's son, and lived chiefly at Hackney, where he amused himself with "cleaving and sawing wood

[1] "Life of John Rawlett," by Dr. Bray.

for exercise." For this scandalous neglect he was suspended by Archbishop Sancroft from 1684 to 1686.

Kettlewell found that the festivals of the Church had been little observed, and attendance on the Holy Sacrament of the Altar almost wholly neglected. He at once began services on all holy days and their eves, and on Saturday afternoons. He made a careful study of the art of catechizing, and the series of lectures afterwards published under the name of the "Practical Believer," grew out of the instructions given in this form to his younger parishioners. His special care was to train his flock in the knowledge and love of the Holy Eucharist, and during his first six months at Coleshill he preached the sermons which afterwards took shape in his "Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communicating."

We have few details of his work. Probably his specialty was the way in which he went in and out among his people, winning their affection with the radiant looks which gained Hickes's impulsive friendship in his early days at Oxford; ready with reproof or counsel, full of tact and fine sympathy, with a noticeable gift for making up quarrels and drawing the bonds of friendship closer, while his bright presence and abundant speech concealed depths of feeling only shown in his singular power of exciting the devotions of others.

Kettlewell's first two years at Coleshill was a time

of great peace and happiness. His people began to respond to his teaching, and Lord Digby, the best of squires and of patrons, was always ready with help and sympathy. In the character of this young nobleman we recognize that admirable type of the Christian gentleman which the teaching of the English Church produces when it falls on kindly soil. Lord Digby had the misfortune to lose his father in childhood, but his mother, a good and wise woman, from the day of her early widowhood, devoted herself wholly to the care of her children, and she was assisted by a tutor "in whom both good breeding and good literature did meet." The youth was trained in a deep sense of the responsibilities of his position, and to delicate consideration for the needs of those about him. He was a frequent visitor in the cottages round Coleshill, and paid a physician to take charge of the sick of the parish; this charity was done in secret, and it was only after his death that his people knew to whom they were indebted for the care they had enjoyed. The widow of his old tutor found a home under his roof to the end of her days. He carried the same spirit of thoughtful consideration for others into the amusements natural to his age and rank, and was careful to avoid drawing his companions into expense beyond their means. His inner life was devout and strict. "His repentance," said Kettlewell, in the funeral sermon which he preached with a

full heart to the friends who shared his loss, "was a much studied and contrived thing." He had a written rule of life, and a list of the sins to which he felt himself most exposed, and this paper he was accustomed to read and consider on two fixed days in every week. He was a regular communicant, very desirous of increased opportunities of receiving the Holy Sacrament, and "laborious in recollection and much in devotion against that time."[1] His wife was of like mind. She also had been religiously brought up. "God"—the account is again Kettlewell's—"had provided her a virtuous and careful mother. She taught her goodness by plain rules," and Lady Digby grew up "a very lively draught of very excellent graces . . . in her green years she had conquered a maturity of goodness . . . humility was her beloved grace."[2] She never missed a Communion. Her composed and reverent mien was noted by those about her, and the grave silence by which, young as she was, she would check any unkind or scandalous talk.

In this happy household, of which the elder Lady Digby remained an honoured member, Kettlewell was always welcome, and his favourite recreation, in the intervals of work, was to play "in consort" on

[1] "Funeral Sermon on Simon, Lord Digby," Kettlewell's Works.

[2] "Funeral Sermon on Frances, Lady Digby," ibid.

the violin or bass viol with Lord Digby, himself a lover and student of music.

He was popular with his brother clergy as well as with his parishioners, and seems early to have attracted the notice of the archbishop, who himself undertook the administration of the diocese during Bishop Wood's suspension. Kettlewell had inherited the business-like habits and capacities of his Yorkshire ancestry, and also, it would seem, an eye for the main chance, and was not unwilling to turn Sancroft's favour to account, as appears from the following curious letter :—

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"I humbly beg your Grace's leave to acquaint you, that by the death of our pious and Reverend Archdeacon Mr. Downing, the Archdeaconry of Coventry and the Prebend of Alderwas in the Church of Lichfield are vacant, and being both above 20 lb. value, as I am told, in the King's books, during the suspension of our Diocesan, if your Grace doth not, the King disposes of them. By the account I have the reserved rent of the prebend is 30 lb., and the real value of the Archdeaconry 70 lb. per annum. By the providence of Almighty God, I am settled within the precincts of the Archdeaconry and within 12 miles of the Cathedral Church, and I humbly offer myself to your Grace's patronage

for such your favour and assistance in the disposal of these preferments, as in your great wisdom and goodness your Grace shall judge me capable of.

"I shall only further entreat your Grace that if for wise reasons you shall see fit to deny this request, yet you will be pleased to pardon the boldness of it, and to continue your favour still to

"May it please your Grace

"Your Grace's in all humble

"And Dutyfull observance,

"JOHN KETTLEWELL.

"Coleshill in Warwickshire,
"Nov. 15, '84."[1]

The primate's answer to this *naïf* appeal is not forthcoming, but Kettlewell did not get the archdeaconry.

Up to this time, the Church revival which marked the later years of the Restoration had been making steady progress. Its reality was soon to be tested. The fear of Puritanism was rapidly giving way to the fear of Romanism. "The fickleness of Men's Humours," remarks the author of the "Life of Kettlewell," "is nowhere so remarkable as in Islands, even as if their Minds were here under the Power of the Flux and Reflux of the Sea." The Nonconformists, who had hitherto been kept under with a strong hand, were beginning to reassert themselves, and they found

[1] Rawlinson MSS., xxx. 27.

allies among Churchmen, who were terrified at the prospect of a Roman Catholic sovereign. No pains were spared to fan their fears into a flame. When, in February, 1685, Charles II. died, the wildest reports as to the new king's intentions were scattered throughout the country. "The Bishop of London is suspended from his attendance as being Dean of the Chappel," writes a pamphleteer of the day; "Cardinal Norfolk and some others are coming over against the Coronation, which will be the 23rd of April next, and at least Two Hundred Priests are already landed and come to town from St. Omer . . . and there are Six Coaches which lye continually at Dover, to bring the Rare Sparks to London. His Majesty has *declared in Council that he will not take the coronation oath*, neither will he ask the people's assent, but that he will be crowned by his own Bishops and Priests, and not have any *Protestant* assistance." "It is now very plain," says another of these productions, "that our Religion, Liberty, and every Man's All lies at stake."[1]

These dark anticipations were not fulfilled. James was crowned on St. George's Day by the Archbishop of Canterbury, "without the assistance of one Popish Bishop or priest," and on the 22nd of May he met his first Parliament with a promise to maintain the

[1] "A true copy of a Circular Letter, written and sent to many of the Western Corporations."—"Life of Kettlewell," p. 102.

established government in Church and State. Nevertheless, the deep distrust of his intentions was not lessened, but rather grew continually.

The Presbyterians thought that their time had come, and in June broke out the fiercely suppressed rebellion of Monmouth. Before the month was over, a public thanksgiving was ordered for his Majesty's late victories, and at the service held at Coleshill on this occasion, Kettlewell preached his first recorded sermon[1] on a subject which was to be foremost in the thoughts of Churchmen through many troubled years. In it he exhorted his people "Neither to let the Pretence of Religion make any of them Ill Subjects, nor the Pretence of Loyalty draw them to embrace the Prince's errors in Religion. . . . When unlawful things are enjoined they must suffer with patience, and not seek to stave off suffering by making insurrections. . . . They may claim their legal privileges . . . but if all peaceable methods fail . . . the case is helpless by human means. . . . This God assigns as the reason of our duty, not that a Prince is circumspect, or successful, or wise, or holy, but that he is His

[1] He must have preached with a sad heart. His friend Hickes was in London vainly interceding for the life of his brother John, a Nonconformist minister who had joined Monmouth. One of the most horrible crimes of that horrible time, the execution of Alice Lisle, was owing to her heroic endeavour to save this same John Hickes and another fugitive.

deputy."[1] The general anxiety was extreme. Kettlewell's sympathetic temper made him a frequent confidant of the fears of his clerical neighbours, who lived in dread of being turned out of their livings in favour of a Roman clergy, as their predecessors had been forced to make way for Presbyterian ministers. The young Vicar of Coleshill tried to cheer his friends, and convey to them his own trustful spirit and dependence on the will of God, "and setting before them the example of the Primitive Martyrs and Confessors, would in a Familiar Manner, give them as it were a Mirror to look into, and shew them therein the only true Method of preserving and securing the Church, whereof they did seem so much afraid, as well as their own dear Interests."

Some of the older men, who had no taste for martyrdom, which in their case meant destitution shared with wives and children, seem to have thought that these arguments poured easily enough from the lips of a single man, but had no consoling force when applied to such a case as theirs.

Kettlewell's biographer suggests that it was with a view to strengthen these weak brethren that he now turned his thoughts to marriage, but this appears a rather far-fetched explanation of a proceeding not unnatural in a man of thirty-two, comfortably

[1] This sermon, preached August 28, 1685, is to be found in Kettlewell's Works under the title of "The Religious Loyalist."

established in a good living, and contemplating the troubled state of public affairs with the hopefulness which belonged to his age and disposition.

The lady of his choice was Jane, daughter of Antony Lybb, Esq., of Hardwick House, in Berkshire, where his family had been established for several generations. She was of a sober and religious disposition, "fit for a Churchman's wife, who ought truly so far to credit her husband and his doctrines as to be an eminent example to others of what is taught by him." When the young people were brought together by a friend, "the mutual Inclination of their Minds, touched as with a Celestial Magnet, quickly grew into an intimate nearness and Union betwixt them." The wedding took place in the bride's parish church, Whitchurch, near Reading, on the 4th of October, 1685; and there was "a Sacrament on purpose to communicate the new Married Couple, whereby they solemnly plighted their troth to their LORD and Saviour, as well as to each other; a Practice though too much neglected, yet piously recommended by the Church, whom all ought in this to hear."

The marriage proved extremely happy, Mrs. Kettlewell's delicate health being the only drawback. Her husband showed her the utmost tenderness; guarding her lovingly in her frequent illnesses, from all fatigue and inconvenience, and studying her comfort in every way. She always, we are told, thought him the best

of husbands, and herself "very much unworthy of him."

Their household was managed with extreme order and regularity, the vicar invariably paying ready money for everything, a practice which he continued to the end of his life, when his circumstances were less easy than at Coleshill; and his scrupulous truthfulness is illustrated by the charge given to his servant, when selling any stock from the glebe farm, to point out all faults to the intending purchaser. He was most careful in the training of his household, instructing his servants in their private prayers and preparation for the Communion, and twice a day, at family prayers, he explained to them some portion of the Holy Scriptures. "Such was the care he had of them in Religious instruction and Admonition, that they might approve themselves as servants of Christ, and themselves his servants for Christ's sake."[1] He was

[1] The careful training of servants and the interest felt in them, as truly members of the family, is a marked feature in the household life of the time. Lady Russell, in a paper written in her old age, mentions among the faults of her youth, that she was "not heedful, or not enough so," whether her servants went to church. In the curious and interesting rules drawn up by Dean Granville for the management of his household ("Remains," ii. 153), he directs that if the outdoor servants, by press of necessary labour, are unable to attend the ordinary services with the rest of the household, special prayers shall be said for them at 5 a.m. Due provision is made for amusements, but these are to be under careful regulation; and the servants are to be

simple in his habits: we are told that on Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent "he abstained from Flesh, and drank small Beer according to the Canon." At ordinary times he was, by nature or discipline, completely indifferent as to his food. "Whatever was provided he liked," and it is specially recorded that if dinner was by any accident later than usual, he never so much as asked why it was delayed.

On Sundays the parish clerk and two or three poor widows generally dined at his house, and he was liberal in his gifts to the poor, and especially careful to provide them with medicine in times of sickness, first praying for a blessing on the remedies he administered.

His pleasant house was a centre for the neighbouring clergy. The most noteworthy of his friends at this time was Dr. Thomas Bray, then a young chaplain in the family of one of the county gentry, and the venerable founder of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel retained to the end of his long life a recollection of the happy hours spent at Coleshill, and left a legacy of books, thirty-one folio volumes, to the parish library.

encouraged to spend their leisure in spiritual reading or in instructing young neighbours and fellow-servants, "I requiring all persons in my family to be either teachers or learners." The frequent provision, in town churches, of prayers at six in the morning, specially for domestic servants, points to the same care.

Meanwhile a heavy sorrow had fallen on his kind friend, Lord Digby. He had been rejoicing in the birth of his first child, a daughter; for a little while all seemed to promise a continuance of happy life, but one night the young mother woke suddenly and felt that she was dying. She accepted the call with calm submission. "Her happy soul in that surprise had a clear, cheerful conscience," and she bade her weeping nurse be comforted, "for she was going to be an angel in Heaven." She was but twenty-two.[1]

The widowed husband sought comfort in plans for the good of the Church and of his people. He determined to restore to the Church the great tithes of Coleshill, of which he was the lay impropriator; he completed the restoration and decoration of the chancel, and "for the more decent celebration of the greatest of Christian Offices, and in gratitude for the blessings and benefits by him received from the Hand of God," made an offering of a set of new Communion-plate.

Kettlewell, with growing years and ripening experience, had pressed more and more on his people the duty and blessing of frequent Communion, and in this difficult and anxious time, where there were "Fire Balls of dissension flung up and down all over the Kingdom," his heart turned with deepened longing

[1] Her little daughter lived to grow up, and was married to James, Lord Dromore.

to the central home of peace. Of all means of healing, "he thought none could be more proper than to invite and persuade Persons to frequent the Great Sacrificial Feast of Charity. This he did press by all the Motives both from Duty and Interest; But more particularly from our LORD'S best Command, which He gave but the Night before He laid down His Life for the World; and from its being a *League of Love and Friendship* with all Christians, by Virtue of its first Institution. For he knew, that could he bring Men to a right Sense hereof, there need no more be done for quieting all the Disorders of their Minds, for expelling all those Fears and Jealousies which tormented them, and for restoring Peace, Unity, and Concord among such as were at Variance." It was resolved to dedicate the new Altar vessels publicly, with all possible solemnity, in the hope, no doubt, that this unusual ceremony would arouse in the minds of the congregation an increased sense of the solemnity of the purpose which they were to serve.

The Archbishop himself came to perform the service. The form of dedication used on the occasion "being somewhat rare," is given in the "Life of Kettlewell."[1] It is too long for transcription, but some extracts may be interesting.

[1] Note, p. 135. An instrument attesting the consecration was drawn up and signed by the consecrator, with the archiepiscopal seal affixed.

The vessels, having been presented by Lord Digby, were placed on a table at the foot of the Altar steps, and the Communion Service began in the usual way. When the Nicene Creed had been recited, the vicar came forward, and "after his humble Adoration made to Almighty God, and his Obeysance to the Archbishop, he humbly desired that the Vessels there before him prepared for the use of that Church by his worthy Lord and Patron (being a Patten, two Chalices, a Flagon and a Bason) might be by him Presented to God, and Consecrated to His Service, according to the Donor's Intentions. Whereupon the Archbishop, after an answer of approbation, and a devout Invocation of the Holy Name of GOD, in terms very pathetical and appropriate to the occasion, standing before the midst of the Altar, did receive in the Name of God from the hands of the Presenter, kneeling, each Piece of Plate severally and place it upon the Altar decently spread; several sentences of Scripture, adapted to the offering of each of them, being alternately repeated as he was thus placing them and praying over them." Then laying his hand on each, he consecrated them, praying "that they may be for ever Holy Vessels for the use of Thy Sanctuary. . . . Sanctify, we beseech Thee, both the Souls and Bodies of all those, who out of these Holy Vessels shall now, or at any Time hereafter, partake of the Holy Communion of Thy most blessed BODY and BLOOD;" and

closing with a benediction on the donor: "Accept, O Lord, this his bounden duty and service. . . . Let these his oblations come up as a memorial before Thee; . . . remember him, O my GOD, for good, and wipe not out the kindnesses which he hath done to the House of his GOD and the offices thereof." When the office of dedication was ended, the Archbishop proceeded with the Communion Service, and the newly consecrated vessels were used for the first time.

"It could not otherwise be expected but that they who take all Decency in the Worship of GOD for Popery, and call every Dedication of Things to His Service *Superstition*, should take offence at the Solemn offering of the Holy Utensils," and the unaccustomed ceremony was at once put down as popish by some of the parishioners of Coleshill; but their vicar "was not to be moved by the common topic of Slander, which is the *Cry of Popery*, against everything that does not exactly quadrate with the Novel Fancies and Inventions of our Modern Humorists in Religion."

In January, 1686, Lord Digby died, and his title and estates passed to his brother William, a youth just returned from his travels. To this brother he left the charge of completing the restoration of the great tithes to the church, and also, in conjunction with Kettlewell, the disposal of a sum of money for the use of the poor of Coleshill and of other parishes in which he

had property,[1] and, with a tender recollection of his short married life, he begged him to seek a wife from the family in which he had found his own happiness.[2]

William, Lord Digby, proved a worthy successor to his brother Simon, but to Kettlewell the loss of his first friend could not easily be made up. Public troubles were added to this private sorrow, and the future looked dark even to sanguine eyes.

[1] Schools, a fund for apprenticing children, and two almshouses, were founded with this legacy.

[2] William, Lord Digby, carried out his brother's wish, and married Jane, daughter of Lord Gainsborough, and sister to Frances, Lady Digby. There are several notices of the young couple in Lady Russell's letters.

CHAPTER IV.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE REIGN OF JAMES II.

"Thou seem'st as one escaped the flame,
But looking back for something left behind."
"*The Angel of the Church*," *Lyra Apostolica.*

When James II. ascended the throne, the Church, as we are assured by the contemporary witness of the biographers of Kettlewell, "was beginning to flourish more than it had ever done since the Reformation, as it did appear, not only from the better observation of its Rites and Ceremonies, and a greater uniformity in our worship, but from the fullness of our Churches, the frequency of our Communions, the numbers of our Communicants, the accession of Proselytes, and (what is most of all) a more serious air and concern for Religion in the generality of its Members."

The prayers and labours of five and twenty years were beginning to bear fruit. How fervent and constant those prayers must have been; how hard, how zealous, how persevering those labours, may be partly

realized if we consider from what poor estate the Church had risen in so short a time.

Even when the days of persecution were over, and the churches were once more open for their accustomed services, the restoration of the ancient form of worship was often no light task. Of the old clergy, many had died in poverty and exile; some had grown lax during years of enforced idleness; some had purchased immunity by conforming to the Presbyterian use. A remnant only of faithful priests survived to return to their former cures.

The question of providing devout and able men to continue the succession had long occupied the minds of the venerable confessors who kept the lamp of the Church alight through the oppressions of the Commonwealth. The saintly Hammond, seeing that by the interdict of January, 1655, "the ancient stock of clergymen were in a manner rendered useless, and the Church was at best . . . a nation of ancient persons hastening to their graves, who must in a few years be wasted, projected by pensions unto hopeful persons in either university, to maintain a seminary of youth, instituted in piety and learning, upon the sober principles and old establishment of the Anglican Church."[1] Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Oxford, remained in his diocese throughout the troubles, and "had the courage, even in those times of Usurpation, to send many labourers

[1] Fell's "Life of Hammond."

into the Lord's Vineyard, according to the Liturgy of the Church of England, when the Exercising this his power was made penal."[1] Among the candidates who presented themselves at his hiding-place were three future bishops—Fell, Frampton, and Bull.

Yet, after all, "the Church had to begin her work with a clergy of whom at least three-fourths were alien to her doctrine and discipline."[2] As late as 1681, when Frampton became Bishop of Gloucester, he found that "the old leaven of the licentious rebellious times was not rooted out in many places, there being several of the Covenanting priests, Intruders who had no other title than an Act of Parliament that indulged them to hold their livings, yet upon condition of their compliance and constant using the Liturgy, which yet through pride and novelty they neglected." One of these worthy persons excused himself for not reading the Church Services on the ground that its length "hindered him from praying as long in the Pulpit as he would." Another was accustomed "to carry the Holy Elements into the reading-desk, and there in a most uncanonical manner distribute them to the Parishioners."[3]

In 1675, Barnabas Oley, now a canon of Worcester,

[1] Nelson's "Life of Bull."

[2] "Life in the English Church, 1660–1714," by the Rev. J. H. Overton, p. 158.

[3] "Life of Robert Frampton," edited by the Rev. T. Simpson Evans.

republished Herbert's "Country Parson," with the special object of bringing before the minds of the younger clergy that idea of the pastoral life which prevailed in the good old times, the "halcyon days" when Andrewes and Laud lived and laboured. He makes in his preface "a most passionate request" to them, "by the mercies of God, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ (of whose Eternal Priesthood they have a share), and by the preciousness of their own and others' souls committed to their charge," to consider how deeply their great vocation was dishonoured in the eyes of the laity by unworthy followers; and he makes a special appeal to those among them who, having once been Nonconformists, now "conform with duplicity, and do as little as they can," to "come with speed and join cordially in helping to repair those breaches in the Church (which they first made), at which swarms of sectaries have entered in among us, and too many others have eloped out into the Church of Rome." [1]

Among the laity a generation had grown up without the sacraments or the teaching of the Church. The number of the unbaptized was so great, that at the revision of 1662, the "Office of Baptism for those of Riper Years" was inserted to meet their case.[2]

[1] Preface of third edition of the "Priest to the Temple," 1675; republished by Pickering in Herbert's "Remains."

[2] "By the growth of Anabaptism and Quakerism during the

Communicants, as might be expected, were few, and those who presented themselves not unfrequently refused to kneel for the reception of the sacred elements. This difficulty was seriously increased by the imposition of the Test Act, which brought such great numbers of Nonconformists to church, that one bishop, Croft of Hereford, was found to suggest that their scruples should be respected.

In many places the people objected to the unaccustomed sight of the surplice, and some of the clergy were not unwilling to gratify a prejudice which perhaps they themselves shared.

The condition of the churches added greatly to the difficulty of conducting Divine service with any approach to due reverence. "In many churches," writes Dr. Isaac Basire, Archdeacon of Northumberland, in 1662, "there be neither Bibles, Books of Common Prayer, Surplices, Fonts, Communion-tables, nor anything that is necessary to the service of God."[1] Lichfield Cathedral lay in the dust. St. Paul's had been used as a cavalry barrack, and the money set apart for its repairs taken for the payment of the parliamentary troops. The chapel of Lambeth Palace, which Laud had decorated with great care,

Grand Rebellion, the want of such an office was plainly perceived."—Wheatley, "Common Prayer."

[1] Quoted by the Rev. J. H. Overton, "Life in the English Church, 1660–1714."

had been turned into a dancing-room, and the body of Archbishop Parker, which lay therein, had been torn up and the bones buried in a dunghill.[1] Oxen were stalled in the nave of St. Asaph. In every part of the country the track of the Covenanting troops could be traced in desecrated churches, shattered windows, broken carvings; in some cases, such was their frenzy of destruction, the soldiers even fired at such ornaments of the sanctuary as could not easily be reached by other means.[2]

The first and easiest task which lay before the re-established Church was the restoration of the sacred buildings, and it was entered upon with a zeal which has been surpassed at no time in our history. Lichfield Cathedral was rebuilt by the exertions of the "second Cedda," Bishop Hacket.[3]

[1] This shocking profanity was repaired by Archbishop Sancroft.

[2] When the noble roof of Swaffham Church, in Norfolk, was lately repaired, the wings and faces of the angels which extend in double file, on either side of the nave, were found in many places pierced with musket-balls. The painting of the Lord in glory over the chancel arch of Peterborough Cathedral was treated in the same way.

[3] A letter from Bishop Hacket to Archbishop Juxon, in 1668, gives an interesting account of the help which he received from the pious ladies of his diocese. "For ornaments, I have had more sent me, and unsought, than I could have expected. In velvet, purple and azure, fifty pounds worth from the excellent Lady Levison, to serve as a paraphront or suffront, and carpet

£25,000 was spent on the repairs of Exeter during the episcopate of Bishop Ward, who, after his translation to Salisbury, gave largely to that cathedral also. Lord Digby at Coleshill, and Sheldon, Lord Dartmouth[1] at Braybrook, Dr. Busby at Willan, carried on the same work; all over the country large sums were expended in restoring, if not the ancient beauty, at least some degree of order and decency. "Having found very many of the churches very sadly dilapidated, or at least mightily out of repair," writes Bishop Turner of Ely in 1686, "I have now pleasing accounts from many places of the care already taken to repair them."[2]

To the devastations of the Puritans was added the

for the Altar. From my Lady Bagot, most riche pieces of gold and silke, and exquisite imagerie for two quishions, whose making up being added by a devout aged woman, and a poore one, Mrs. Hulke, they are as beautiful as ever I saw. . . . I must not omit that my Lady Wolsey's daughters put together all those ornaments with their art, industry, and needle. The honest residentiaries deserve a Church thus beautified; *so doth not the phrenetique Dean* [Wood, afterwards bishop], who sides altogether with Puritans."—Tanner MSS., xliv., quoted in introduction to Granville's "Remains."

[1] Lord Dartmouth was most earnest in seeking the good of those under his charge. When in command of the fleet intended to oppose the landing of the Prince of Orange, he wrote, eager to obtain a good chaplain-general, "As I am to answer to Him for the preservation of so many souls as He hath been pleased to put under my care."—Quoted in "Life of Ken," by a Layman.

[2] Overton, "Life in the English Church," p. 173.

wreck caused by the Great Fire, and Churchmen met the need with splendid liberality. Fifty-three churches, many of them being beautiful and costly, were built between 1666 and 1711 in London alone, and in the course of thirty-five years, St. Paul's Cathedral, the greatest work of the century, was brought to completion.[1]

This care of the houses of God was the unmistakable sign of a growing earnestness in spiritual things. "Have you," asks Bishop Turner, in the letter already quoted, "as the rubric directs, morning and evening prayer every day in the week in your church . . . if by any means in the world you can prevail with a few at least of your parishioners, which sure cannot be wanting in most parishes, where there are either some devout gentry or persons of quality, or at least some piously disposed people; and to such I could almost kneel, begging them to do their parts towards so good a work, perhaps the best and most public good they can ever do in the place where they live. . . . It is very hard if some little daily congregation may not be found, would but the minister attempt

[1] "The way their Lordships [the Archbishops and Bishops of London and Oxford] resolve upon, is to frame a design handsome and noble and suitable to all the ends of it, and to the reputation of the city and the nation; and to take it for granted that money will be had to 'accomplish it," writes Sancroft in 1668, when Dean of St. Paul's, to Sir Christopher Wren.—D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft."

and labour at it with as much zeal as the thing itself mightily deserves."[1]

Dr. Willis, physician to Charles II. (the same who, during the Rebellion, gave a room in his house at Oxford for the performance of Divine service), "some years before his death settled a salary for a reader to read prayers in St. Martin's Church in the Fields early and late every day to such servants and people of that parish who could not, through the multiplicity of business, attend the daily service there performed." These early services became frequent in the London churches, and were well attended. "Blessed be God," writes Bishop Beveridge, when Vicar of St. Peter's, Cornhill, "He hath opened the eyes of many, especially in this city, who now see the things that belong to their peace, and therefore are as constant at their public devotion daily, as at their private business."

The opportunities for Communion were still very scanty, as compared to our own abundant means of grace, but the Blessed Sacrament was celebrated with more reverence and far greater frequency than in the

[1] So Bishop Ken in a pastoral letter: "Be sure then to offer up to God every day the Morning and Evening Prayer. Offer it up in your family at least, or rather, as far as your circumstances will possibly permit, offer it up in the church. Go, though you go alone, or but with one beside yourself."—"Life of Ken," by a Layman, i. 60. Turner was Ken's schoolfellow. Their names are cut, near together, in the cloisters at Winchester.

first years of the Restoration. "If you consider how terribly this Sacrament was represented, and how generally it was laid aside in the late times," writes Dr. Comber in 1686, "we might wonder how monthly Communions should be so well attended on by the people as they are, and this was as large a step as could in prudence be expected for the first twenty years. But now this point is gained, we should endeavour to go a little further." To go further in this chief point of Christian duty was, indeed, the principal aim of the most earnest Churchmen of the day, but they had still to contend with almost incredible prejudices.

In 1680 there were not more than three or four cathedrals in England in which the Holy Communion was celebrated as often as once a week. Among the clergy who laboured successfully to amend this great neglect, and to re-establish the custom of celebrating, at the least, on all Sundays and holidays, one of the most active and conspicuous was Denis Granville, Canon, and afterwards Dean, of Durham. His personal history is an interesting indication of the currents of thought which seem to have prevailed among many of the younger clergy, and is worth recording in some detail. He was a younger son of Sir Bevil Granville of Stow, in Cornwall, who fell at Lansdowne, and great-grandson of the famous Sir Richard, who faced with his single ship fifty-three Spanish sail. He was

loyal and courageous, as became his ancestry, able also and vigorous, but in his younger days the attractions of the Court, where his brother, Lord Bath, was in high favour, seem to have turned his mind from his clerical work.

"Your Churches have been served by shifts," his father-in-law, Bishop Cosin, complains in 1666, "and by Curates deserting their own churches to serve yours; your course at the Cathedral here, this last Sunday, being our Lady day, was supplied by the provision and care of

"Your very loving father,
"Jo. Duresme."

How greatly he changed in his later years may be gathered from an extract from his diary written thirteen years after.

"Nov. 9 [1679].—I did this day receive the Blessed Sacrament at the hands of good Bishop Gunning in his owne Chappell. . . . The Bishop preached, very much, I bless my God, to my edification, causing in mee a great sense of mine owne weaknesse and failings in using the spiritual armour of a Christian, and I doe now accordingly acknowledge my sin in trifling with God and mine owne soull these 20 yeares past, since I listed myselfe anew under Christ's banner, and doe here record

anew my solemn promise and vow to God that I made this day at His Holy Table of endeavouring better things. I am weake, a very infant, but having been supported wonderfully hitherto by the mighty power of the Lord, I will trust in the same, and wait patiently for His strengthening of mee and carrying mee through my spirituall conflicts with flesh and bloude and the powers of darknesse. O Thou Captain of my salvation, look on mee, and pity mee, poor, weak, faint-hearted soldier, who have often turned my back in the day of battell, tho' not perfectly (I blesse Thy Name) deserted my colours, and preserve mee through Thy mighty power, etc.

"*Mem.* That I did, the evening before this celebration, unburthen my conscience to this good Bishop (my spirituall guide) and submitted my soule to his teste and examination, receiving after the same a solemn absolution on my knees, to my great comfort, a thing which I had long desired with great anxiety, fearing that the Bishop, my first ghostly father, or myselfe, should have died before I had had this blessed opportunity: for which I praise God's Name with all my soule. *Gloria Patri et Filio, etc.*"

From this time Granville devoted all his powers and influence to the task of raising the standard of religious service, at Durham first (where, since Bishop Cosin's death, the weekly celebration had been disused), and afterwards, so far as in him lay, throughout

England. Among his remains is an interesting letter on the subject, addressed to Barnabas Oley.

"REVEREND AND WORTHY SIR, .

"Before ever I had the happiness to see you, I had a great and hearty veneration for you, and have a particular reason to bless GOD for the good services you have done the Church of England, more especially for publishing the works of worthy Dr. Jackson and Venerable Mr. George Herbert. It is a very great grief unto me that Providence has placed me so far from you that I cannot have the happiness, which I do infinitely desire, of some spirituall converse with you. Instead whereof, if you will please to allow me the liberty sometimes of communication of thoughts by letter, I shall think it an extraordinary obligation.

"I have lately, Sir, began an enterprise (tho' I am sure very honest and pious, yet) may be of great difficulty before it be accomplished; and I beseech you afford me at least your good prayers for a happy issue. The businesse, Sir, is this. I have been, ever since I entered into the Church, a hearty bewailer of the omission of a Weekly Sacrament in Cathedrals, Collegiate Churches, and Colleges, which I have ever judged most unaccountable, and of very bad consequence . . . as no Ordinary can censure a clergyman for neglecting the rule of his Common Prayer-book when the Cathedral gives no better example.

"You have happily in your Cathedrall[1] reformed this great irregularity, and I cannot but imagine that you have been one of the great instruments therein. 'Tis the thing I am now labouring to reform here, having to that end made an addresse to Mr. Deane and the Prebends concerning the same. . . . I shall scarce avoid some opposition. Some already begin to fright me from this undertaking by saying it is desperate imprudence to attempt at this time innovations. But it is the first time I have heard that to amend our ways and coming closer to our Church's rule, is an innovation. At this rate, it will be esteemed so in time, to be a good Christian."[2]

In a letter written in the same year to his brother-in-law, Isaac Basire, son to the archdeacon, Granville says, "I have now begun an enterprise which I esteem the most considerable and pious of my whole life. . . . If I could but succeed herein, I could, bad as the times are, go comfortably to my grave. . . . Fearing that I should meet with many rubs, and particularly that it may be objected against me that I am a young

[1] Worcester.

[2] Archdeacon Granville to Mr. Oley, November 30, 1680, "The Remains of Denis Granville, D.D.," ii. p. 48. In Oley's answer (p. 59), he says, "Were I in any great Protestant city where the Lord's Supper was celebrated according to the Divine order of the Church of England every day, I should not dare to be absent from it but upon just occasion of hindrance."

man, and that this is too mighty an undertaking to be begun upon my own hand. . . . I have thought fit to strengthen it by begging some Bishops' assistance, who I am sure will not deny it me." Three years later he notes in his diary the progress that has been made. "March 8, 1683.—Dr. Beveridge came to visit me at my lodgings in Cornhill, where wee entred very speedily on discourse of our Common Prayer Book (the usual subject of our conversation when wee met), and more particularly concerning the great advantage of Weekly Communion, according to the design of our Church.[1] Hee told mee that hee conceived it was intended (and did not doubt that it would be effected) by the Bishopp of London, to set up the weekly celebration of the Sacrament in St. Paul's Church as soon as it should be finished, and promised that he would make it the business of his thoughts in the mean time to ascertain and facilitate that good work."[2] Again, in April, 1684, when at Windsor (he was one of Charles II.'s chaplains) he notes that "I waited on the Bishop of Rochester. He thanked mee for the letter I had sent him about

[1] Beveridge had already established weekly Communion in his own church, St. Peter's Cornhill, where "his congregation increases every week; he hath seldom less than fourscore, sometimes six or seven score, and a great many young apprentices, who come there every Lord's Day with great devotion."—Dean Granville to Dr. Comber, introduction to "Remains."

[2] Francis Turner, translated to Ely in the year following.

the revivall of the weekly Sacrament in his Cathedrall. He excused himself for not answering it, but declares that when he comes to Rochester, he will set it up, telling mee also that he intends to doe the same at Windsor, and that he had set up Prayers at 7 a clock in the morning and 8 a clock at night, to be read for servants and the soldiers."

The Primate sympathized and helped in this reform, though he had left it to others to begin. "As to the Rubric concerning the Communion in Cathedral Churches every Sunday," writes the Dean of Canterbury (Tillotson) to Sancroft in the same year, "I moved it last week to the Chapter, and we resolved to begin it next month, which was as soon as we could engage a convenient number of Communicants, and I am very glad your Grace designs it throughout your Province, because it is plainly required, and will, I doubt not, be of good example and great efficacy to promote piety."

In the course of the year following, a weekly Communion became the rule in York Minster, and shortly after his appointment to the deanery of Durham, Granville had the joy of seeing the practice began in his own cathedral.

In many parish churches, especially in London, the example of the cathedrals was followed, and with the increase of Communions, the number and devotion of the Communicants increased also.

The number of devotional manuals published between the Restoration and the end of the century shows what pains were taken in the training of the faithful. The "Golden Grove," and "Holy Living and Dying," of Bishop Jeremy Taylor,[1] are well known even now. The "Officium Eucharisticum" of Dr. Lake, published in 1673, passed through fifteen editions in twenty years; Bishop Ken, Patrick, Horneck, Smythies, Kettlewell, and many others wrote manuals of prayer and instruction, of which some are still remembered.

The advance was great, but a higher ideal of devotion was in the minds of some at least of those whose labours had been thus far so much blessed. The following entry is in Dean Granville's diary for June, 1683: "I went to the Publick Library in Oxford, where I found out the first Common Prayer-book of Edward the 6th, which I had searched for a good while with great diligence, but could not discover: and there, among many other useful observations which I pen'd down, I met with what

[1] These books were the companions of Lady Russell in her widowhood. "You have a little book writ by talor," she tells her children in a most touching letter of advice; "out of that and his book of holy living I took derections many years agoe. Som interruptions in this course I have been tempted to, but God in infinite grace to me, by some sickness or other crosse, brought me back to my duty again."—"Letters of Rachel, Lady Russell," 1853, p. 72.

I sought after, namely, that there was at that time in Cathedralls, and some other places, a daily Celebration of the Comunion." And some months after he writes to the famous antiquary, Sir William Dugdale, asking his assistance in finding out how long the daily celebration remained in use, and by whom it was discontinued. "I am forced," he says, "to trace out the history of the Eucharist from the very beginning of the Reformation, believing that people will cease their wonder at weekly Celebration, when they are convinced that there was a *Daily Celebration* of the Sacrament established in all Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in the beginning, and never abolished, but only faln to the ground by the indevotion of the age, and will be ashamed to oppose weekly Sacraments, when the rubrick, if it be strictly examined, doth at this very day suppose daily ones."[1]

The number of Nonconformists had greatly lessened during the last years of Charles II. and the first of

[1] Compare Bishop Ken's longing for a restoration of the daily celebration—

> "Blest age, when saints were daily fed
> With Jesus their life-giving Bread,
> Which gave them vigour strong and sweet,
> Grim Death to meet.
> Souls now stand trembling at Death's sight;
> We want true Eucharistic might;
> Of heavenly food we them deprive,
> Scarce half alive."

James. No doubt this was largely due to the penal laws, but many were drawn into the Church by gentler and more effective means. "Convince the erroneous with all gentleness and calm arguings," says Kettlewell; "yea, with all patience and perseverance, remembering that it is a hard matter and a work of time for a man to cast off his old and riveted opinions, and that any one is troubled enough in being shewn his error, without hearing of it in angry and invective speeches."[1] It was on these principles that Bishop Frampton dealt with the Dissenters in his diocese. "When any were cited in his Court, or were presented there for nonconformity, if they showed themselves tractable, he would suffer no fees to be exacted of them, and this not to one or two, or twenty, but to several hundreds, which by the persuasion of himself and other discreet divines he directed to confer with them, were brought to conformity. I have before me an account of nine hundred . . . and either from his good government or example and Doctrine, there are in that Diocese twenty adjoining parishes that have not nineteen dissenters from the Church of England in them."[2]

[1] Dean Tillotson to Archbishop Sancroft, October 11, 1683.—Granville's "Remains," i. 376.

[2] "Life of Robert Frampton," p. 143.

CHAPTER V.

CHURCH LIFE IN THE REIGN OF JAMES II.—(*continued.*)

"Stars are of mighty use; the night
Is dark and long,
The road foul, and where one goes right,
Six may go wrong.
One twinkling ray,
Shot o'er some cloud,
May clear much way,
And guide a crowd."

H. VAUGHAN.

"Methinks their very names shine still and bright;
Apart, like glowworms on a summer night;
Or lonely tapers when from far they fling
A guiding ray."

W. WORDSWORTH.

THE labours of the clergy were aided by many pious laymen, who, through those years of the Restoration which have become a proverb for badness, lived and worked for the Church. Isaac Walton's honoured life was preserved till 1683, when he fell asleep in his ninety-first year, "well known and as well beloved of all good men," in the house at

Winchester with which Bishop Morley repaid his ancient kindness.

Another link with earlier times remained unbroken, till near the end of the century. Henry Vaughan still lived on the banks of Usk, among those

> "Fair shining mountains of my pilgrimage,
> And flowery vales whose flowers were stars,"

which he celebrates so fondly. He owed his spiritual life, as he tells us in the preface to his "Silex Scintillans," to the influence of the "holy life and verse" of George Herbert; and he strove to imitate both. He seems early to have abandoned secular poetry, desiring "to communicate my poor talent to the Church, under the protection and conduct of her glorious Head." "He that desires," he adds, "to excel in this kind of Hagiography, or holy writing, must strive by all means for perfection and true holyness, *that a door might be opened to him in Heaven*, and then he will be able to write, with Hierotheus and holy Herbert, a true Hymn."

His writings are less known than those of his great model, and a specimen may interest some who have not yet become acquainted with them.

"THE MORNING WATCH.

"Oh Joyes! Infinite Sweetness! with what flowres
And shoots of glory my soul breakes and buds!
All the long houres
Of night and rest,

Through the still shrowdes
Of sleep and clouds,
This Dew fell on my breast:
Oh how it blouds
And *spirits* all my Earth! Hcark! In what Rings
And *Hymning Circulations* the quick world
Awakes and sings!
The rising winds
And falling springs,
Birds, beasts, all things
Adore him in their kinds.
Thus all is hurled
In sacred *Hymnes* and *Order*, the great *Chime*
And *Symphony* of nature. Prayer is
The world in tune,
A spirit-voyce,
And vocall joyes,
Whose Echo is heaven's blisse.
O let me climbe
When I lye down. The pious soul by nighte
Is like a clouded starre, whose beames, though said
To shed their light
Under some cloud,
Yet are above,
And shine, and move
Beyond that mistie shrowd.
So in my Bed,
That curtained grave, though sleep, like ashes, hide
My lamp and life, both shall in Thee abide."

Vaughan's works were out of date long before his death. A new sort of poetry was in fashion, a more skilful and brilliant sort, the poetry of wit and satire, the poetry of towns. It is refreshing, on the eve of

the "Augustan Age," to linger over the verses of this old poet, last representative of an obsolete school, which was destined, like other glories of the seventeenth century, to rise again in fuller splendour after a hundred years of sleep. If in faith and devotion Vaughan was the pupil of Herbert, in his insight into the mystical and symbolic aspects of nature he was the forerunner of Wordsworth.

It was not in retirement only that devout Churchmen were trained. Dr. John North, clerk of the closet to Charles II., was accustomed to say, that "for the number of persons that resided in the court, a place reputed the centre of all vice and irreligion, he thought there were as many strictly pious and truly religious as were to be found in any other resort whatever; and he never saw so much fervent devotion, and such frequent acts of piety and charity, as his station gave him occasion to observe there."[1] It might have been suspected that North's standard was not very high, had not John Evelyn unveiled for us the picture of one saintly and exquisite soul, Margaret Godolphin, maid of honour to Catherine of Braganza. She died in her spotless youth, and was laid among her husband's Cornish kinsfolk, in beautiful St. Breage; but her dear companion in the court, Dorothy Howard, still lived, the wife of Colonel Grahme, privy purse to James II., a most devout

[1] "Lives of the Norths," iii. 324.

woman, the friend of Ken and Kettlewell; and through the wildest revel of Whitehall, Evelyn himself, scholar, man of science, Churchman above all, kept on his steady way, troubled but unspoilt.

In a different sphere, Edward Colston, the princely Bristol merchant, is but one of the most noted among a crowd of "cheerful givers"[1] who helped to raise the Church from its ruined state. Robert Nelson, the very type and model of a faithful layman, was already entering life, though the labours with which his memory is associated belong to a somewhat later date.

The name of Rachel, Lady Russell, is known to all. Less famous, yet worthy to be remembered, is that of Susannah Hopton, editor of the "Devotions in the Antient Way of Offices,"[2] of whom Hickes, in his pre-

[1] Among these, it is interesting at the present time to recall the name of Mr. Gouge, who procured a new edition of the Bible and Common Prayer-book in the Welsh language, and translations of the "Whole Duty of Man," with other religious books, all which were given away in large numbers to the poor, and sold cheaply to the better classes throughout Wales.

[2] This is the work commonly known as "Hickes' Devotions." It was adapted by Mrs. Hopton from "Devotions . . . with Psalms, Hymns, and Prayers for every Day in the Week and every Holiday in the Year." Compiled by a Roman Catholic layman, John Austin (Rouen, 1672). Another adaption of Austin's work, by Theophilus Dorrington, appeared in 1687, and went through nine editions.

face, says that she was one "whose house is a temple, and whose family is a Church or *Religious Society*, and whose hands are daily lifted up unto Heaven with alms as well as prayers." Margaret, Lady Maynard, and the pious ladies of Naish are familiar to all readers of the life of Bishop Ken.

But it was not among the cultured and the high-bred alone that the life of the Church made itself felt. The work of the Religious Societies, that most striking growth of the revival, began and prospered mainly among the middle class.[1]

Dr. Horneck, for twenty-six years preacher at the Savoy Chapel, was one of the most distinguished of the London clergy. He was a Hebrew and Arabic scholar, deeply versed in the Fathers, a powerful writer, and a man of saintly life. He preached "with great vehemence and ardour, with mighty force and conviction," to crowded congregations. The number of communicants at his church was large, and their devotion exemplary. About the year 1678, a few young men of the middle class, whose hearts had

[1] See the "Life of A. Horneck," by Bishop Kidder; the "Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies," by Josiah Woodward, Minister of Poplar; and "Life in the English Church, 1660-1714," by the Rev. J. H. Overton. The societies "for the Reformation of Manners," though often classed with the religious societies, are not included in this notice, their work being social rather than religious, and carried on chiefly by means of prosecution in the law courts.

been stirred by his teaching, came to him and asked for guidance in the devout life. Horneck advised them to meet regularly for united prayer and mutual counsel, and gave them a few simple rules. From this small beginning grew a network of societies which spread through London. The members, chiefly young men engaged in business, were eager to draw others into an association from which they felt they derived spiritual advantage, and would often, after their shops were closed, go three or four miles into the suburbs, to give help and encouragement to a new-planted society. Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Beveridge and William Smythies, curate of St. Michael's, Cornhill, "a most mortified man to the world" (one would like to know if he were kin to the great bishop lately departed), joined with Horneck in shaping and guiding these brotherhoods, which, except that they depended on the parochial clergy, instead of on religious communities, resembled in some degree the "third orders" which in Roman countries have been found helpful for people living in the world.

The societies were self-governing, but according to a strict rule, which bound them to the general organization of the Church. New members were elected by a majority of votes, but no candidate was eligible who had not been confirmed. He must also "resolve on a holy and pious life." They chose their own

president, but he must be a clergyman of the Church of England. They met once a week for prayer, devout reading (in the choice of books they were to be advised by the president), and "if there be time left, discourse with each other about their spiritual concerns, but this shall not be a standing exercise which any shall be obliged to attend unto." Controversy, both religious and political, was strictly forbidden, their object being, as Nelson puts it, "by mutual advice to take measures how best to further their own salvation, as well as to promote that of their neighbours." The clerical president did not always attend these meetings, a layman being usually appointed, under the name of steward, who led the prayer and collected the weekly alms, for at every meeting they were to "consider the wants of the poor." Their rule of life enjoined regular attendance on the Church services, careful observance of the fasts and festivals, frequent communion, nightly self-examination, a monthly private fast, and weekly almsgiving. And they were advised "to love one another; when reviled not to revile again; to speak evil of no man; to pray, if possible, seven times a day; to keep close to the Church of England; to be helpful to each other; to use themselves to holy thoughts in their coming in and going out; to give every one their due; to obey superiors both spiritual and temporal."

The week-day services, which became so numerous in London that it was said "devout persons might have that comfort every hour in the day," were established largely by the instrumentality of these societies. Special celebrations for their use were maintained in three at least of the city churches on all Sundays and holidays, and every week, at some church or other, a sermon was preached on due preparation for Communion, and a "meet deportment" after receiving. They were forward in all works of charity. By their means many destitute families were relieved, necessitous persons established in business, and poor scholars helped at the universities. They set up nearly a hundred charity schools in London alone, and raised large sums for the revived missionary work in Virginia, and for the rising "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

In the course of a few years, forty-two of these societies were established in London and Westminster, and similar associations were formed at Oxford, Cambridge, York, and many other towns, and also in country places.

Men of views as different as Hickes and Nelson, Compton and Tillotson, agreed in sympathy with the work of these societies. Their rules, says Nelson,[1] are "such a preparation of the minds of the laity for

[1] Preface to the "Companion for the Fasts and Festivals of the Church of England," by Robert Nelson, Esq.

the reception of that discipline which is wanted in the Church, that if ever we are blessed with what good men wish for, and bad men fear, these religious societies will be very instrumental in introducing it, by that happy regulation which prevails among them, . . . and I cannot apprehend but that they must be very serviceable to the interests of religion, and may contribute very much to revive that true spirit of Christianity which was so much the glory of the primitive times."

Alas! the blight of the eighteenth century fell on these hopeful fruits. The societies were suspected of Jacobite tendencies, and vaguely accused of using the schools they had founded for political purposes. They also shared in the unpopularity of the Societies for the Reformation of Manners, with which they were often confused. The zealous clergy who founded them had passed away, and a new generation, with lower aims and lessened earnestness, occupied their place.

The Societies thus gradually declined and withered away, and about the year 1738 ceased to exist. The numerous services which they had provided were supported no longer; Communions became less frequent, and communicants fewer: but the devout spirit which these brotherhoods had fostered and guided, was not, therefore, dried up; it only lay

dormant, waiting for a fresh movement to be recalled into life.

When John Wesley, a few years later, sought means of strengthening and maintaining the devout life of his followers, he revived the methods of the religious societies with which he had been acquainted in his youth;[1] and the Methodist class-meetings absorbed those energies and affections which the Church had suffered to run to waste.

[1] His father, Samuel Wesley, Rector of Epworth, took great interest in the societies. A letter on the subject is appended to his "Pious Communicant rightly prepared;" and John Wesley himself, while an undergraduate, was member of a religious society at Oxford.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1687–1688.

JAMES II. DETERMINES TO REMOVE ROMAN CATHOLIC DISABILITIES — DECLARATION OF LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE — REFUSAL OF BISHOPS TO ORDER READING OF DECLARATION—THEIR TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL—BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES.

"A voice from long-expecting thousands sent,
Shatters the air and troubles tower and spire;
For Justice hath absolved the Innocent,
And Tyranny is balked of her desire."

W. WORDSWORTH.

By the spring of 1687, James made up his mind that he would never be able to procure freedom of worship for his Roman Catholic subjects unless he were prepared to grant equal privileges to the Protestant Dissenters; and in February he took the first step in that direction by proclaiming liberty of conscience in Scotland. In March he declared in council his intention to grant the same liberty to all persons, of whatever opinions, in the kingdom of England also;

and the formal declaration to that effect was published in the beginning of April.

The Dissenters, relieved from many and sore burdens, overwhelmed the king with addresses of gratitude. They compared him to Moses and to Cyrus, the deliverers of Israel, but in their hearts they mistrusted his intentions. Three of their greatest men, Baxter, Howe, and Bunyan, refused to sign the addresses, and Defoe expressed in vigorous terms the secret feeling of his party. "I had rather," he wrote, "that the Church of England should pull our clothes off with fines and forfeitures, than that the Papists should fall both upon the Church and Dissenters, and pull our skins off by fire and faggot."

The English Church was stirred to its depths by a measure which, however reasonable it may now appear, was contrary to the whole feeling of the time, and nothing less was feared than "the Imminent wreck and subversion of that which is called the Constitution." Kettlewell's biographer gives a vivid account of the state of mind which prevailed among the clergy, who were confronted at once by the steady advance of Rome, bent on reconquest, and by the triumphant though anxious Nonconformists. They felt, as he expresses it, that it was inconsistent "to pretend the protection of the Pastors of the Church, who are by their office bound to keep and defend Christ's flock from such wolves as would devour His sheep; and yet

to loose these very Wolves, which are no other than the schismatical and heretical Demagogues, and even to pull down the very Fences to let them in; as if it could be at once possible to maintain the Canons, which are the proper Rights of the Church, and also to maintain all those who break those Canons." This language sufficiently shows the temper of the times.

The king protested that he only wished for universal toleration, and that he sincerely believed that God alone had authority over the conscience. "He hoped," he told the Presbyterian deputation who waited on him with thanks for the Declaration, "to live to see the days when they should as well have Magna Charta for liberty of Conscience, as they had for their properties," and he held the same language to the end of his reign. "I would have no man to suffer for his religion," he said to the Dean of Ripon during his first baffled attempt at flight.

It is possible that James may have meant honestly, but his natural desire to promote the interests of his own Church was carried to an extent sufficient to alarm the most trustful. He had been deeply hurt by the statute which in the previous reign drove himself and his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects from their posts in the army and navy, and it is not wonderful that he proceeded to remedy this injustice in too high-handed a fashion; but no such excuse can be made for his attempt to force a Roman President and

Fellows on Magdalen College, Oxford. Louis XIV., who had lately repealed the Edict of Nantes, was his closest ally; and when the nuncio was received in state at Windsor, people not unnaturally concluded that the country was at once going to be handed over to the Pope. In every direction the pulpits rang with denunciations of popery. The Bishop of Gloucester, having to preach in the Chapel Royal before the Princess of Denmark, selected for his subject, "David's description of the images of the heathen, which he compared to the images of the papists, and shew'd the difference between popery as modified here, and as he had seen it practised abroad." When the sermon was reported to the queen, she was extremely angry, and tried to stir up her husband's indignation; but the sturdy, kindly, humorous old bishop was a favourite at court, and James, with some generosity, only remarked that "he was sure the Bishop of Gloucester was a good man, and would neither depart from the truth nor encourage faction." [1]

But the king was not disposed to allow equal liberty to all who might choose to speak against the measures which he had at heart, and he shortly reissued the directions to preachers which had been put forth in his brother's reign, and which had then been generally accepted by the clergy. But the tide of feeling had now risen to a height too strong to be silenced. Anti-

[1] "Life of Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester."

Roman sermons continued to be heard all over the country. It was then determined to make an example, and the culprit pitched upon was Dr. Sharp, Rector of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, afterwards Archbishop of York. The Bishop of London was desired to suspend Sharp from preaching until he should give the king satisfaction. Bishop Compton excused himself from obeying this command on the ground that it was not sanctioned by law or custom; but he sent for Dr. Sharp, and privately advised him to forbear from preaching for a time. The Rector of St. Giles readily complied, and here the matter might have ended; but this peaceful conclusion "would not very well have suited with the secret designs of some Persons who were pursuing an Interest distinct from that of their Master."[1]

According, at least, to Kettlewell, and those who thought with him, the king was moved by the advice of treacherous counsellors to suspend Compton for his refusal to suspend Sharp. He made the ambitious bishop his enemy for life. The later chapters of the "Life of Kettlewell," whether the work of Hickes, Nelson, or Lee, were written by contemporaries, themselves engaged in the struggle, and reflect very fully the feelings with which men, devoted at once to the English Church and to the legitimate sovereign, anxiously watched the course

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," p. 155.

of events which they could neither influence nor ignore. It seems well, therefore, to give as far as possible their own words. They thought that "the Design of giving this Liberty to those who did differ from the Publick *Ecclesiastical Constitution*, leaving the *Legally Constituted* Church in the possession of their Rights, would have met with no very great difficulty, had another Method but been taken which was more Popular; . . . but this seems not to have been the care of those who were then chiefly at the Helm of Affairs, and who had ingratiated themselves by Vile Compliances, that they might be the better able to Deceive. Indeed, the whole was in the Opinion of some who knew the Persons, and had an Opportunity of understanding the Secret of that Affair, a Plot upon that Prince, to Spoil the Project of his for the Nation's Welfare and Honour, which would in all probability have Riveted him in his Throne; and to improve his inclinations for the Romish Religion to his own Ruin and Destruction." [1]

In August, the king, hoping to smooth the troubled waters by his personal influence, set out on a progress through some of the midland and western counties. In the course of this stately journey he came to Oxford. The loyal university was resolved to do its duty to its sovereign, and James was received with the picturesque splendour of a day that was fast

[1] "Life," pp. 165, 166.

passing away. The streets were decked with green boughs and hung with tapestry, the roadways strewn with scented herbs, the conduits ran with wine, the heads of houses on their knees presented addresses of welcome. James had not the gracious gift which wins hearts on such occasions. He lectured the kneeling dons in the style of his grandfather. "Of all things," he said, "I would have you avoid pride and learn the duty of charitie and humilitie. . . . I have given liberty of conscience to some of my subjects, therefore doe not take it ill, for in what I have done I think I have not done harm to you. Let not therefore your eye be evil and mine be good, but love one another and practise divinitie; doe as you would be done by, for this is the law and the prophets."[1]

No doubt the king's words were discussed at much length throughout the country, at clerical gatherings, and wherever lovers of the Church were gathered together. A few were found to uphold the king's policy,[2] and to argue "that it was not essentially

[1] Wood's "Diary."

[2] See an interesting letter from Dean Granville to an unnamed clergyman—

"Sedgefield, March 19, 1687 (1688).

"I can be contented to die for, but never at all to resist, my lawful Prince, to save y^e^ Religion of y^e^ Church of England. But men now generally seem of another mind. People are inclined to Rebell, and Priests disposed to resist, but call it

necessary to the Civil Government, nor properly under the cure and cognisance thereof, that all its subjects should be compelled by any Temporal Penalties and Disabilities to profess themselves of one and the same Religion, and that the peace and security of the Government, together with the natural and Civil Rights of the Subject, might be sufficiently provided for by other cautions, of a civil, not of a *Religious* Nature."[1] But it may well be doubted whether most of those who took this line were not

non-compliance, and neither of them methinks think it a crime, if it be on account of the Protestant Religion.

"I cannot bring my conscience to commit what I believe to be a crime, a present and the worst evil, to avoid future evils, many of which are only created by the fears and jealousies of people, nor will I houghband, or so much as hamper or fetter my Sovereign, God's deputy, to incapacitate him to hurt either my life, estate, or religion.

"I'll leave them in his power as God has done. If the King goes beyond his Commission he must answer *to God for it*, but I'll not deface one line thereof. . . . In this Magna Charta aimed at by the King for establishing his Declaration, our Religion will be established in the first place, and others incapacitated to hurt us, as much as we are to hurt them. Let us do our Duty and leave God to maintain His own Cause, never do evil that good may come of it.

"I rest, with my service to Mrs. Lumley,

"Your very affectionate friend and brother,

"DENIS GRANVILLE."

—Dean Granville's "Remains."

[1] "Life," p. 157.

moved rather by personal loyalty to the sovereign than by any abstract desire for universal toleration, and by far the greater number of Church-people were firmly persuaded that universal toleration would be only another name for the subversion of the Church of England.

Kettlewell's own opinion was probably that of the majority, but his high views of loyalty would not suffer him to impute blame to his sovereign. He was heard to say that "there were no qualifications wanting in him which either English men or Protestants could have wished for, had it not been for his Religion, which the Body of the Nation hath so great a Prejudice against; and that he was one who really proposed to himself those methods of government which he took at least to be most Conducive to the Happiness of all his Subjects in general, without respect of Person or Party; however, by the treachery of some who were admitted to his Councils, those good Ends he had proposed came to be entirely frustrated." And he laboured to impress his views on his parishioners.

"So far was he from venting anything in the pulpit all the while he continued at Coleshill, which might but Obliquely tend to beget an ill Opinion of the King, or any way to disturb the Government, that on the contrary he is well-known upon all Occasions, in his Sermons, both *ad Populum* and *ad Clerum*, to

have, to the utmost of his power set himself against all Doctrines and Principles Squinting that way, and faithfully to have endeavoured to do both the King and Church the best service he could in his place and station, and to hold such an even Balance between them as not to betray the rights of one or the other, but to preserve them both Inviolable.

"Never was he heard in his Popular Sermons either to handle the deep points of God's Eternal Councils and Decrees, or to meddle with the affairs of State and Government, or to wrangle about certain useless Disputes and Controversies, which tend not to a Practical Faith, and serve more for the amusement than the profit of the Hearer. But he was continually laying out himself, as a good minister of Christ, to improve Useful Knowledge and Obedient Practice, and Peaceable Inclinations, in the Souls committed to his Care."[1]

He grew more and more simple in his preaching, which during the latter part of his time at Coleshill was usually extempore. Through these anxious days he was absorbed in his spiritual work, in calm trust that, whatever might be in store, God would protect the true interests of His Church. "He had no distracting Fears at all about it, nor any vexatious and anxious cares how to provide against an Event which was in the Secret of Providence," looking on

[1] "Life," pp. 151, 152.

the difficulties and anxieties of the time as a call to deepened penitence and a closer walk with God; but he indulged no illusions as to the seriousness of these difficulties, and gave his best efforts to a study of the exact limits of the king's supremacy and the subject's duty of obedience.

It may be that the stress laid by the clergy on the doctrine of non-resistance, though meant to serve the king, should properly be reckoned among his greatest misfortunes. He conceived the idea of procuring a quasi-legal sanction for his Declaration, by compelling the bishops to order it to be read in all churches—if, indeed, the plan was not rather suggested to him, as Kettlewell thought, by men who sought his ruin.[1]

An Order in Council to this effect was signed on the 4th of May, 1688, and the 20th was the first day appointed for the reading of the Declaration in all churches in London and Westminster. For the country the days named were the 3rd and 10th of June.

In this crisis it was necessary to come to a prompt decision. A resolution, refusing obedience to the

[1] "Two Court Lords (whereof one is gone to *His Place* and the other *is not*), entirely devoted to advance the designs of their Master's nephew and son-in-law, were for precipitating him into these measures with the Clergy, by all the arts of Flattery and Political Disguise, wherein they were Excellent."—"Life," p. 173.

order, was drawn up by some leading men among the London clergy, chiefly through the influence of Dr. Fowler, Vicar of St. Giles', Cripplegate, and was signed in the course of a few days by eighty-five beneficed clergy.

A week after the issue of the order, a step was taken of wider importance. The Archbishop had a discussion with the Bishops of London, Peterborough, and Ely, together with some distinguished parish priests, and at least one layman, the King's brother-in-law, Lord Clarendon. They came to the conclusion that the Declaration ought not to be read. The Archbishop then sent letters summoning his brethren to come to his assistance in this matter. It would seem, from the "Life of Bishop Frampton," that he also was present at this first meeting, but, with characteristic eagerness, he hurried down to Gloucester to make his views known in person to his clergy, and consequently did not get back to town in time for the meeting of the bishops at Lambeth.

The views of the bishops are clearly stated in the petition to the king, drawn up by Sancroft.

"We find in ourselves," says this famous document, "great averseness to the distributing and publishing in all our churches your Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, which proceeds neither from any want of duty or obedience to your Majesty (our holy mother, the Church of England, being both in

her principles and constant practice unquestionably loyal, and having, to her great honour, been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty), nor yet from any want of tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom we are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when the matter shall be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation. But among many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded on such a dispensing power as hath often been declared illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great consequence and moment to the whole nation, both in Church and State, that your petitioners cannot in prudence, honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's House, must amount to in common and reasonable construction."

The petition was signed by the Archbishop himself, and by the Bishops of Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chichester, Peterborough, Ely, and St. Asaph. The signatures of the Bishops of Gloucester, Salisbury, Norwich, Winchester, and Exeter were added later. A copy of the petition was forwarded to the Bishop of Hereford, who received it at the same time as the order for reading the Declaration. "I disputed with

myself so long that I grew into a perfect agony," he said afterwards, but he decided that it would be safest to side with the king.

The petition having been thus prepared, the question arose how best to present it to the king. The Archbishop was out of favour, and had been forbidden the court. He was for awaiting the return of Frampton, perhaps thinking him to be the best person to recommend the matter to the king's favourable notice. "I am sure," he said, "our brother Robert of Gloucester with his black mare are on the gallop."[1] According to another account, some delay was occasioned by the tardy arrival of the Bishop of St. Asaph, "who was a secret favourer of a foreign interest." Late on Friday evening the Bishop of Ely persuaded the Primate to wait no longer, and the paper was taken that night to the palace by the six bishops who had signed, Sancroft remaining behind.

"This," said the king, when he had read the paper, "is a standard of rebellion."

[1] "It is not improbable that there were some pretty near the king's person who might be afraid lest upon their representation and the necessity of his affairs he should call in his declaration, or at least countermand his late order concerning it. And therefore took care to order the thing so, as the Petitioners should be so long in preparing and presenting their Petition to the king, that though their reasons never so much convinced him, he should not have time enough to answer what they requested."—"Kettlewell's Life," p. 174.

"We have two duties to perform," returned Ken; "our duty to God and our duty to your Majesty. We honour you, but we fear God."

The king persisted that the petition was rebellious. "Go down to your dioceses," he said, "and see that I am obeyed."

That night, the petition, of which the solitary copy, in Sancroft's writing, had been placed in the hands of the king, was, it is supposed by treachery, printed and hawked through the streets.

When Sunday came, the Declaration was scarcely read in any church in London except Westminster Abbey, and there, "as soon as Bishop Sprat (who was Dean) gave orders for reading it, there was so great a murmur and noise in the church that nobody could hear him; but before he had finished, there was none left but a few Prebends in their stalls, the choristers, and the Westminster scholars. The Bishop could hardly hold the Proclamation in his hands for trembling, and every one looked under a strange consternation."[1]

The Declaration fared as badly in the country as in town. Great pains had been taken to rouse the parochial clergy to a sense of the importance of the situation. "These last three weeks have been the most toilsome part of my life," wrote the Bishop of Ely to a

[1] Quoted in Dean Stanley's "Memorials of Westminster," p. 478.

friend. "God fit us for whatever He shall send; we shall never repent of May 18th enterprise; all our security under God consists in the multitude of the clergy, equally obnoxious; therefore we send expresses into all parts of the kingdom, with letters of advice and printed papers (of which I sent you a number yesterday by the carrier). The papers do state the Case of Conscience against reading the Declaration. We need a nimble trusty man, to carry a cloak-bag of these to Darby, where he first is to open his Pack; thence on he must go to Pomfret, to Fran. Drake, with another parcel to York, with another to Dr. Comber. . . . We can think of no one so proper as honest expeditious John Poole. Pray spare him and let him be gone this night (this Saturday night) if it be possible."[1] Ken also sent expresses to the west of England. These energetic measures took effect. The "nimble trusty man" arrived at York just as Dr. Comber had summoned a meeting of clergy to discuss the Declaration, and, after considering the papers which he brought, they unanimously decided against reading it. The same view prevailed generally. Among ten thousand clergy, it was reckoned that not more than two hundred were found to obey the king's command, and the congregations shared the feelings

[1] Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, to Dr. Gower, Master of St. John's College.—Tanner MSS., printed in "Life of Ken," by a Layman.

of their pastors. In one place in the diocese of Gloucester, where the Declaration was read in spite of the bishop's pains, "the whole congregation rose up" and "followed an ancient lady out of the church."

"This did more affect the King than any other opposition which he had hitherto met with; and hereupon they took occasion to incense him against the Bishops, as if they had, on purpose to embroil him with his People, delayed their Petition so long, and particularly the *Great Person* who presented them to his Majesty (Lord Sunderland) vehemently urged him to *chastise their stubborn boldness*, as he called it."[1]

It was determined that the bishops should be tried "for contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel against his Majesty and his Government." On the 8th of June they were sent to the Tower, and on the 29th were brought before the Court of King's Bench on the above charge. The story of that famous trial has been told too often to be repeated here. It was managed "as if almost it was purposely done to expose the King, and to render both him and his authority contemptible, which was apparent by the gross blunders of the Court, by the oversights in the want of Proof of Matter of Fact, by suffering the King's Power to be so fully argued, and lastly by bearing the Public Huzzas and Popular Rejoicings at their acquittal without any animadversion."[2]

[1] "Life," p. 175. [2] Ibid., p. 176.

While the bishops were in the Tower, an event took place which added tenfold to the anxicty and excitement of the people. It is thus briefly recorded by Evelyn: "June 10.—A young Prince born which will cause disputes."

His birth sealed his father's fate. On the same night on which the bishops left Westminster Hall, amidst the triumph of all London, a letter was despatched to William of Orange, begging him to come to the rescue of the Protestant cause. It was signed by the Earls of Devonshire, Danby, and Shrewsbury; by Lord Lumley, by Admiral Russell and Henry Sidney, and by William Compton, Bishop of London.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1688–1689.

LOYAL ADDRESSES ON THE BIRTH OF THE PRINCE OF WALES—LETTER FROM WAKE—THE PRIMATE'S ADDRESS TO THE CLERGY—LANDING OF WILLIAM—FEELINGS OF HIGH CHURCHMEN—FLIGHT OF THE KING—KETTLEWELL ABSENTS HIMSELF WHEN WILLIAM AND MARY ARE PROCLAIMED AT COLESHILL, AND CONTINUES TO PRAY FOR KING JAMES.

"Firm against kingly terrors in his free country's cause,
Faithful to God's anointed against a world's applause."
EARL OF SELBORNE, *Lines on the 450th Anniversary of the opening of Winchester College.*

THE birth of a Prince of Wales was greeted with showers of loyal addresses.[1] The Roman Catholics

[1] That sent from Northallerton may serve as a specimen. In it the justices of the peace for the North Riding express their gratitude "for the great blessing God Almighty has bestowed on his sacred Majesty and the kingdom by the happy birth of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales," and add their prayers for the long life and health of King James and the increase of his family.—"History of Northallerton," p. 105.

were overjoyed, and Dryden expressed the hopes of his party in lines which read strangely in the light of the after-history of that long-wished-for child.

> "See how the venerable infant lies
> In early pomp! how thro' his mother's eyes
> The father's soul with an undaunted view
> Looks on, and takes our homage as his due.
> See on his future subjects how he smiles!
> Not meanly flatters, nor with craft beguiles;
> But with an open face as on his throne
> Assures our birthright, and assumes his own!"

Thanksgivings were offered for the event, and the infant's name inserted in the Liturgy. The Prince of Wales was prayed for not only in his own country, but in the Royal Chapel at the Hague,[1] for the idea of disowning the inconvenient child who had come between him and a crown does not seem to have been adopted by William until some weeks had passed. "The last Sunday was observed by us in all duty," writes Dr. (afterwards Archbishop) Wake to Dr. Charlett.[2] "'Tis

[1] In a letter addressed to King James by his "most obedient daughter and servant Marie," the Princess of Orange explains to her father, who had apparently remonstrated on the omission of prayers for the Prince of Wales in her chapel, that "it had only bin sometimes forgot. M. d'Abbeville can assure you, I never told him it was forbid. . . . He was prayed for heer long before it was done in England."—Macpherson, "Original Papers," i. p. 156.

[2] Master of University College, Oxford.

impossible to tell you what Infidels many are as to the young Prince, concerning whom I have no manner of doubt; and those who have seen the Queen's other children freely confess that none but ignorant and unreasonable people can. I wonder so many repine at his birth, as if it portended something very ill to the Church of England. For my part, if my dependance on GOD'S providence and a fanatical confidence of the flourishing of the Church which I neither can nor will suffer myself to be reasoned out of, do not byasse me, I cannot see any of those desperate things they suppose ever are more likely to fall upon us. On the contrary, I pray GOD the heat and indiscretion of the Roman Catholics on their new support . . . do not make them accelerate their own ruine."[1]

Meanwhile the released bishops found themselves the objects of boundless admiration. They "were complimented in the most high manner, by all ranks and orders of people; they were loaded with praises, yea, even by them who were before their enemies, and were perhaps so still; they were placed with the Primitive Confessors, if not above them; they were compared to the *Seven Golden Candlesticks*, and to the *Seven Stars in Christ's Right Hand*."[2]

The Primate did his utmost, regardless of the

[1] W. Wake to Dr. Charlett, Gray's Inn, June 19, Ballard MSS., 3.

[2] "Life of Kettlewell," p. 176.

severity with which he had been treated, to turn his temporary popularity to the advantage both of the Church and the king. He put forth an address to the clergy, in which, after earnestly exhorting them to increased care in their life and work, as to which he enters into much detail, he warns them against "Popish emissaries," especially those "evening wolves" who "are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people at the end of their lives, labouring to unsettle and perplex them in time of sickness, and at the hour of death;" but he charges them that "the King's power being in his dominions highest under GOD, they upon all occasions persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his Majesty in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest."[1]

When the rumour of his son-in-law's intended invasion first reached the king, it was to the bishops that he turned for help in his need, with an instinctive feeling that their advice, however unpalatable, would at least be honest. It was admitted by Burnet that Sancroft and his brethren were not unequal to this great occasion; and the wide range of their advice shows how far the Episcopal Bench, in those days, felt that their place lay among the statesmen and councillors of the nation. The king adopted some at least of their suggestions. While the Dutch ships

[1] This address is given in full in D'Oyley's "Life of Archbishop Sancroft."

lay in the channel, beaten about by adverse winds, he hastily restored the charters of which he had deprived many of the great towns, including Exeter, the key of the west country; he dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission, and he reinstated the Fellows of Magdalen (whom he had ejected in favour of Roman Catholics), but he still declined to call a Parliament.

His concessions came too late. A sudden change of wind brought William safely past the English fleet; and unopposed, almost unnoticed, he landed his troops in Torbay.

He had prepared a declaration, stating that he came at the request of several lords, spiritual and temporal, to secure the calling of a free Parliament, and to inquire into the birth of the Prince of Wales. A copy of this declaration found its way into the king's hands, and he hastily summoned such bishops as were in town to inquire into the truth of this statement. The quibbling reply of the Bishop of London is well known. Sancroft's answer was consistent with the whole tenor of his conduct. He owed, he said, a natural allegiance to his Majesty; he had often confirmed this by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and he could have but one king; as for the Prince, he had never made any application to him. The other bishops present likewise protested that they had never, directly or indirectly, invited the invasion of the Prince. But when the king further pressed them to issue a

statement, declaring their abhorrence of the prince's conduct, they held back.

They did not know, they said, whether the declaration were genuine; and Sancroft, with great simplicity, urged, as one ground for doubt, that "one would not imagine so great a prince would publish a manifest untruth, and make it the ground of his enterprise."

The king judged his son-in-law more accurately. "What!" said he; "he that can do as he does, think you he will stick at a lie?" The bishops then said that this was a business of state, which did not properly belong to them; and the primate, worn and worried, reminded his Majesty of the imprisonment and trial which they had lately suffered on account of the petition in the matter of the declaration of indulgence. "I thought," said James, "that had been all forgotten. . . . As for what you say, that it is hazardous to meddle in matters of state, that is true when I do not call you to it. But I may ask counsel or assistance of any, as I now do of you, and then there can be no danger." The bishops persisted in their refusal to take any public action alone. They begged to be allowed to consult with the temporal peers. "The chief place where they could serve his Majesty effectually was a Parliament;" and they implored him to call one, or at least to assemble all such peers as were within reach.[1] They pressed this

[1] For this conversation, see D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft."

measure yet more strongly a few days later, in a paper drawn up in conjunction with some of the lay peers, and presented to the king by the primate and three other bishops; but it was not until James saw that his troops were passing over to the invader, that he brought himself to take their counsel, and ordered writs for a Parliament to be prepared.

Meanwhile William had advanced to Exeter. For a week no one joined him. Then began that series of defections, unparalleled perhaps in the history of revolutions, which, beginning with the treachery of the king's nephew, Lord Cornbury, the heir of the loyal Hydes, culminated in the flight of the Princess Anne, who stole away to join her brother-in-law's troops, attended—strange escort for an undutiful daughter—by the Bishop of London, accoutred in the buff coat and boots, the sword and pistols, of an officer of cavalry.

This is not the place for a history or criticism of the Revolution, and its well-known events are only recalled so far as they bear on the conduct of the clergy during the crisis.

On November 24 Ken wrote to Sancroft, telling him that he heard that the Dutch were approaching Wells, and that he had sent away his horses, lest they should be requisitioned for the army, and himself retired into the country. "Having been a servant

to the Princess and well acquainted with many of the Dutch, I could not have staid without giving some occasion of suspicion, which I thought it most desirable to avoid, resolving by God's grace to continue in a firm loyalty to the King, whom God direct and preserve in this time of danger.[1] Shortly after, William made his appearance at Salisbury, where the old Bishop, Seth Ward, lay dying, too ill to know what passed. Burnet, soon to be his successor, attended the cathedral service, and when the prayer for the king was said, "rose from his knees, sat down in his stall, and made an ugly noise with his mouth." Lord Clarendon, who was present, asked him afterwards "why he behaved himself in the cathedral so as to make all the people stare at him?" The future bishop replied that "he could not pray for the king." "We shall have a fine reformation," is the comment of Clarendon, "if this man speaks the prince's sense."[2]

While William himself took possession of the southern counties, his adherents were busy in the north. Lord Lumley read the declaration, unhindered, in the market-place of Durham, and some of his troopers clattered up to the deanery door to demand the use of the dean's horses. Granville's cavalier blood

[1] Ken to Sancroft, "Life of Ken," by Rev. E. H. Plumptre, ii. 22.

[2] Diary of Henry, Earl of Clarendon.

boiled within him, and bitterness was added to his wrath by the tidings that his brother, Lord Bath, had placed the troops under his command at the service of the invader; but he could do nothing, except refuse the horses (for which he was placed under temporary arrest), and preach "a seasonable loyal sermon" in the cathedral, as soon as Lumley had departed to read the declaration elsewhere.

The king's flight on the night of December the 10th left London in utter confusion. A meeting of peers, spiritual and temporal, in which the archbishop took a leading part, was hastily assembled at the Guildhall, to take measures for preserving order and carrying on some sort of government. After hot debate, they resolved to apply to the Prince of Orange for assistance in procuring a Parliament, and a declaration was drawn up, in which they stated that "the King having issued his proclamation and writs for a free parliament, we might have rested secure in the expectation of that meeting. But, his Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend, in order to his departure out of the kingdom, by the pernicious counsels of people ill-affected to our nation and religion . . . we do therefore apply ourselves to his Highness the Prince of Orange . . . and we will, with our utmost endeavours, assist his Highness in the obtaining such a Parliament with all speed, wherein our laws, our liberties, and properties may

be secured."[1] The declaration contains "not a Tittle from the Beginning to End that can import the bestowing the *Crown*, the *Sceptre*, the *Purse*, or the *Sword*, or any Thing of the Administration, so much as *pro tempore*, or in a *Provisional way;* they were so far from taking on them those great things in that Conjuncture, that there was not the least invitation to the Prince to come up to London, or Windsor, or any of the King's houses."[2]

A copy of this declaration was sent to the Prince by the hands of the Bishop of Ely, and Clarendon observed that it did not please him. He had another and more serious cause of annoyance. Some loyal gentlemen had stopped the king in his flight, and persuaded him to return to London. Bells were rung in his honour, and shouts of joy greeted him as he passed through the streets. For one day he held his court as of old. He received the archbishop who waited on him, with several other bishops, very graciously, and said that he was glad that in his absence they had come forward to maintain order. He sent an invitation to his son-in-law to come to St. James's. It was his last brief pageant of kingship. He was roused from his sleep that same night (the 18th of December), and informed that by William's

[1] The declaration is given in full in D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft."

[2] "Life of Kettlewell," p. 187.

order he must leave London as a prisoner. On the following day the prince entered the capital.

"It is not to be imagined what a damp there was upon all sorts of men throughout the town. The treatment the king had met with moved compassion even from those who were not very fond of him."[1] None grieved more than Sancroft. All the bishops who were in London gathered at Lambeth to consider what steps they should take in this conjuncture. It was said that the king had desired them to behave civilly to the prince, that they might be the better able to forward his interests and those of the Prince of Wales; and it was decided that they should pay their respects to his Highness. The primate refused to accompany his brethren. He was infirm and ill, and his gentle heart was sore for the troubles of his sovereign. The rain which beat on the grey walls, "as if heaven and earth would come together," gave him a welcome excuse.

"Do you mean to kill me?" he said with a touch of petulance, when pressed to go to St. James's. "I have a cold; I cannot come."[2]

[1] Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 19.

[2] In the Tanner MSS. is the draft of a letter from Sancroft to the prince, apologizing for not paying his respects. "I have bin so slow in waiting uppon your Highness, partly because my being hindred with bodily infirmity, and yet I must always acknowledge it was partly because I and my Brethren were not so far satisfied with some things that have bin done since

The loyal party still looked for some accommodation, but their hopes were shattered by the king's second flight, caused, as was whispered, by fears for his life. "I was struck to the heart," writes Clarendon, who first heard the news from William himself, "and without one word made my leg and came home as fast as I could. . . . What will become of this poor distracted and distempered nation? . . . It is like an earthquake."

Sancroft was so much cast down by the King's departure, that he withdrew his promise to attend the meeting of the Convention which was assembled in place of the Parliament. The Bishop of Ely and Lord Clarendon pressed him strongly, "but the king's being gone had cast such a damp upon him that he would not come," and he left the hopeless task of defending the rights of the absent sovereign to younger and stronger hands. But he prepared a paper[1] explaining at great length his views on the crisis. "The king," he says in this document, "by reason of some unhappy principles . . . acted contrary to those laws wherein the people esteemed their greatest security to be . . . to that degree that most people wished for

your Highness' coming to Windsor, that I could think fitt to approve them, or seem to do so."—"Life of Ken," by a Layman, ii. 490.

[1] Extracts from this paper are printed in D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft." The original, in the archbishop's own writing, is in the Tanner MSS.

any means to be relieved. . . ." He proceeds to consider in what way, the king having left the kingdom without any provision for carrying on the administration of the country, the government may be established on a secure basis. After considering the various proposals that had been brought forward, he says, that "as the laws of England stand, nothing can colour the exclusion of the present king, and the setting up another, though we should suppose the whole people of England acting on it, unless we suppose also that they have an authority residing in them to judge, depose, and elect kings ad libitum: but that is contrary to the known maxims of the law of England above recited;" and he gives it as his deliberate opinion that the right course under the circumstances is "to declare the king by reason of his principles, and his resolutions to act accordingly, incapable of the government, with which such principles and resolutions are inconsistent and incompatible; and to declare the commander Custos Regni, who shall carry on the government in the king's right and name."[1]

Perhaps this paper is the answer to Bishop Tanner's request for assistance from Sancroft, in drawing up "propositions of our doctrine against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession."[2]

The Convention met on January 22, and Turner

[1] D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft." [2] Ibid.

was one of the main leaders in the struggle for a regency. The bishops, as Turner had written to Sancroft shortly before the decisive day, were "not wanting faithfully to serve a hard master in his extremity," and when the efforts of the loyal party were overborne by William's cold-hearted determination to place his father-in-law's crown on his own head, twelve bishops were found among the protesting minority. Of these, nine, including the primate, refused to take the oath to the new rulers, and sat in the House of Lords no more.

These nine were William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury; Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely; Thomas Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich; Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester; Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells; William Thomas, Bishop of Worcester; John Lake, Bishop of Chichester; Thomas White, Bishop of Peterborough; and Thomas Cartwright, Bishop of Chester.

Of the remaining sees, Exeter and Salisbury were vacant, and Compton, Bishop of London, had openly joined the invading army. Lamplugh[1] had received

[1] Lamplugh, while Bishop of Exeter, "acting according to a settled maxim of his own, *I will be safe*, had given orders for the publishing of the Declarations . . . and was at last brought to recall them by the Deane's sending him word that, *if he would betray the Church, he should not the Cathedral, for he would rather be hanged at the doors of it, than the Declaration should be read there.*"—Trelawney to Ken, "Life of Ken," by a Layman, ii. 451.

the archbishopric of York from King James only a few months previously as a reward for his professions of loyalty. Crewe of Durham, Croft of Hereford, and Sprat of Rochester were among the few bishops who carried their subservience to James to the point of reading his Declaration of Indulgence; and Wood of Lichfield was a person of so little account, that his name does not appear in the transactions of the period.

It is beyond the scope of this volume to dwell further on the details of the Revolution. William and Mary were proclaimed king and queen on Ash Wednesday, and the ill-chosen day deepened the gloom with which Church-people surveyed the situation.

Kettlewell, in his quiet parsonage, was an interested and anxious watcher of these great events. He preached with much plainness of speech against tumultuous assemblies and against rebellion, to the great disgust of some of his hearers, who considered this way of preaching very unfashionable, and compared the vicar to St. John Baptist, "who, having been bred all his life in a wilderness, studied to please nobody." This view was probably shared by the young Lady Digby, whose relations, the Russells, were naturally overjoyed at the change of government; and among the difficulties which Kettlewell had now to meet, a difference of opinion between him and his kindly patrons could not have been the least trying.

The new sovereigns were proclaimed at Coleshill, as in larger and more important places, but it was noticed that the vicar was absent from the ceremony, and also from the rejoicings on the coronation-day; and, in spite of the orders of the Government, he continued to use the prayers for King James and the Prince of Wales. The bright friendliness and harmony of the parish was broken up, and the warm-hearted Kettlewell was "very uncomplaisant" towards those who persisted in following the new lights. "Out of love to the Truth he would constantly speak what was most disagreeable to the Maxims of Flesh and Blood," and we gather that, in the stress of feeling, his hot temper sometimes broke through its habitual restraint.

It was a very trying time for loyal and honourable men, who would fain have reconciled duty to their country with faith to their king. On the clergy the question pressed with peculiar hardness, for they were all, without exception, compelled to decide on their course publicly and at once.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1689.

IMPOSITION OF THE OATHS OF ALLEGIANCE—SANCROFT FORBIDS PRAYERS FOR WILLIAM AND MARY IN HIS CHAPEL—DIFFICULTIES OF THE CLERGY—KETTLEWELL'S LETTER TO SHERLOCK ON THE DUTY OF ALLEGIANCE—TILLOTSON'S VIEW OF DIVINE RIGHT—VIEWS OF DR. FITZWILLIAM, BISHOP KEN, AND DODWELL—OATH REFUSED BY EIGHT BISHOPS AND ALMOST FOUR HUNDRED CLERGY.

"It is better to hazard oneself in war y^{n} to be sure to lose *all* in peace."—BISHOP KEN.

"E'en the very Gospel, which had birth
In songs of blessed angels bringing peace,
In contact with the denizens of earth,
Hath gone forth as a sword which doth not cease."

ISAAC WILLIAMS.

To secure the adhesion of the clergy was one of the first cares of the new reign. For the Church, as a

Church, William had no regard whatever, as is abundantly proved by his treatment of the Scotch Episcopalians. "You see," Burnet remarked to Dr. Rose, Bishop of Edinburgh, "that the king, having thrown himself upon the water, must keep himself swimming with one hand. The Presbyterians have joined him closely, and offer to support him, and therefore he cannot cast them off unless he sees how otherwise he could be served." The Scotch clergy did not find themselves able to give the required help. All the bishops and above three hundred clergy refused the oath of allegiance. They were deprived without hesitation, many of the deprivations being carried out with violence, and even with cruelty, and the vacated livings were at once filled by Presbyterians.

The Church of England could not be put aside as lightly as its less powerful sister. Nothing shows the strength of the Church of that day more clearly than the pains that were taken to conciliate or coerce it.

The Government carried through Parliament (all opposition having been got rid of by the exclusion of members who refused the oaths) an Act requiring, contrary to all usage, that the Oath of Allegiance to the new sovereigns should be tendered to "all Ecclesiastical Persons." Those who refused to take it before the 1st of August in the current

year, were to be suspended; and in the event of continued non-compliance, deprivation was to follow on the 1st of February, 1690. To make compliance easier, the part of the oath which describes the king as "*rightful and lawful*" was to be omitted.

By this means every individual among the clergy, from the primate to the humblest curate in the most sequestered parish, from the heads of the universities to the master of the poorest grammar school, would be compelled to accept the Revolution, or to quit his post of duty, his hopes of usefulness, in many cases his whole means of support.

Great pains were taken to induce the clergy to take the oath, and Sancroft in particular was treated with studied civility. On the morning of Ash Wednesday, the day on which the new sovereigns were proclaimed, Mary sent two of her chaplains to ask the archbishop's blessing, at the same time desiring them to attend service in his chapel, and observe whether he prayed for the new king and queen. His chaplain, Henry Wharton, inquired what he was to do in this case. The archbishop replied that he had no order to give, and Wharton, thinking, as he says, of the safety of the primate, and perhaps also of his own, substituted the names of William and Mary for that of the absent king. In the evening the archbishop sent for him, and *vehementer excandescens* told him that he must desist from praying for the new

sovereigns, or officiate no longer in that chapel, for as long as King James was alive no other persons could be sovereigns in this country. Sancroft seems never to have had a doubt as to his own course, but to decide for others was more difficult, and must have been especially trying to a man of his gentle and retiring character. "Matters were very dark," he said, when consulted by the Bishop of Edinburgh, "and the cloud so thick and gross that they could not see through it. They knew not well what to do for themselves, and far less what advice to give."[1]

For months, the question of the oaths was debated with intense anxiety. The bishops met continually at Lambeth. Lloyd of St. Asaph worked hard for the Government, and Burnet, in the plenitude of his zeal, issued a Pastoral, in which he stated that the Prince of Orange had conquered England, and that "the success of a just war gives a lawful title to that which is acquired in the course of it." The indignant Parliament ordered the letter to be burnt, and the suggestion disappeared with the paper on which it was printed.

A weightier argument was found in the irreparable injury which would be inflicted on the Church by the deprivation of the clergy whose untiring labours had raised it from the dust to its present flourishing condition. The work of twenty-nine years would be

[1] "Letters on the Separation of the Church of England."

destroyed at a blow. The older men, even those who had barely reached middle age, could remember when the churches lay desolate, and the Prayer-book was a forbidden thing. The aged among them had been ordained by stealth, and had themselves administered sacraments and read the prayers of the Church, when to do so involved risk of fine and imprisonment. They had lived through all this; they had seen churches once more crowded, the laity instructed, a growth of devotion which they might well hope to see raised to greater heights and nobler developments of zeal. No wonder their hearts ached and their minds faltered when suddenly called on to decide whether the fabric which they had given their lives to restore should be once more shaken to its foundations. "The more the question which the clergy had to settle at the Revolution is considered," says Mr. Lathbury, "the more difficult it will appear. I am sure that no Churchman can fully enter into the subject without being convinced that the Bishops and Clergy were placed in a most perplexing situation."

The idea that a king might forfeit his right to reign through misrule, or that, for any cause whatever, his subjects might lawfully transfer their allegiance to another, was contrary to the whole teaching of the clergy in that age. The views of the High Church party are clearly expressed in two works by

Kettlewell,[1] some extracts from which may conveniently be given here, though they were not published until 1691.

"We can have but one Allegiance," he says in a letter addressed to Sherlock. "People may be very liberal in giving away a Prince's Rights where they give away their own allegiance, but if what they give away are really his *Rights*, he loses no Rights by either of their gifts." He argues in another tract that "the eighth and tenth commandments, of not being injurious to him in his rightful properties, would affect the consciences of all men, the fifth the consciences of all the subjects of these dominions, the third (of not forswearing ourselves) them that have been in stations concerning the Oath of Allegiance." He goes on to say that if a sovereign should attempt anything against "the Inviolable Liberties which have been secured against the Prerogative of their respective kingdoms," "we need not always be active in doing what we are bidden;" but here, as he further explains, the right of the subject ceases, and it becomes his duty to practise that "passive obedience" which occupies so large a share in the theory of citizenship maintained by Churchmen in the seventeenth century.

Kettlewell defines "passive obedience" as a keeping under obedience to sovereigns while we suffer at

[1] "The Duty of Allegiance, in Answer to a late Book of Dr. William Sherlock," and "Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross."

their hands. All legal means of redress may be tried; but subjects must not endeavour to better their position "by running to arms when all other ways fail, and by listing soldiers." With regard to the danger which the Church was supposed to incur from a Roman Catholic king, he asks, "What would these worldly men have said if they had lived in the days of Christ and His Apostles? . . . Persecution doth not waste but improve and increase Religion, for in such times the Church is deprived of nominal professors, but recruited with better Christians." His mind was steeped in the writings of the Fathers, and it is to the works of St. Chrysostom and of Tertullian that he looks for guidance as to the conduct of Christians when their religion is endangered by the action of their sovereign. "Others' force," he says, when recurring to the words of primitive martyrs and confessors, "can never make us lose Religion . . . that . . . not being placed among things liable to be forced away, but lodged in the heart."

These doctrines of divine right and non-resistance were not held by High Churchmen only. It would be hard on this point to go beyond the utterances of Tillotson. When ministering to Lord Russell in his last days, he warned him that his opinions as to the lawfulness of resistance were "contrary to the declared opinions of all protestant churches," and called for "a very particular and deep repentance," and he

closed his prayers on the scaffold with the words, "Grant, Lord, that all we who survive by this and other instances of Thy Providence, may learn our duty to God and the King."[1]

It is clear, however, that almost all the clergy, whatever their opinions, would, when once the new government was established, have submitted to its rule, if they had been allowed to do so in silence, without violating the pledges by which they were already bound.[2] But their belief that royal authority was derived, not from the will of the people, but from inherent right, made even those who were favourable to the new sovereigns hesitate long before they could resolve solemnly to transfer their allegiance to a king who reigned by the sole virtue of an Act of Parliament. How deeply the difficulty was felt even by persons not ill disposed to the Revolution government, is shown very clearly by a letter from Dr. Fitzwilliam[3] to Lady Russell. Fitzwilliam can scarcely

[1] Life of Tillotson, in Wordsworth's "Eccles. Biog."

[2] There is in the Bodleian a petition signed by fifty-nine clergy, among whom one at least, Hilkiah Bedford, became a Nonjuror, praying Parliament for such an explanation of the oath as may enable them to take it, or that they may be excused on giving security for peaceable behaviour.

[3] Dr. Fitzwilliam was Canon of Windsor and Rector of Cottington. The correspondence is to be found in the "Letters of Rachel, Lady Russell," edited by Earl Russell. Fitzwilliam's scruples were never overcome, and he died a Nonjuror.

have been a devoted adherent of James II., or he would not have been the chosen adviser and comforter of Lady Russell throughout her sad widowhood, nor could she have written to him as she did, with a frank assurance of sympathy, that the Revolution is "so amazing a reality of mercy as ought to melt and ravish our hearts into resignation and submission to Him who is the disposer of all providences."

Yet he answers her expressions of hope that he might see his way to retaining his preferments by reminding her that he had sworn allegiance to King James, his heirs, and lawful successors. "The present oath," he continues, "runs thus: 'I will bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.' Now let any impartial person resolve me whether one of these, King James being abdicated, be his heir of lawful successor, or could be made so, had the people met either collectively or representatively, which they did neither;" and he entreats her "not to call boggling at an oath, clashing against another which he formerly took, an unnecessary scruple.[1] . . . I cannot tell," he continues, "what my dear friend the Bishop of Bath and Wells may

[1] "You should withal consider," so Dodwell writes to Sherlock, "the dreadful importance of these words, 'So help me God, etc.' That is 'so God deprive me of all the great rewards, so God inflict upon me all the future punishments threatened in this Book, as I perform the contents of this oath.'"—Tanner MSS., printed in the "Life of Ken," by a Layman.

do in this case. I find him, by a letter to me, and another I saw in the hands of a person of honour of your sex, to be fluctuating; but if the consideration of the Church's peace should, without a full persuasion of the lawfulness of the matter of the oath of allegiance and of the authority which imposes it, induce him to take it, neither his example nor advice, though I have used him as a spiritual guide, should steer me in this point. . . . It may be I have as sad thoughts of the divisions of the Church, and as ardent desires for its peace, as any, and let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if I prefer not Jerusalem before my chief joy, but I cannot esteem it a good way to seek the attainment of this by any act that shall disturb my own peace."

Bishop Ken's fluctuation is explained in a letter to Burnet, who had roughly charged him with double-dealing. "It is true," he says, "that having been scandalized at many persons of our own coat, who for several years together preached up passive obedience to a much greater height than ever I did, it being a subject with which I very rarely meddled, and on a sudden, without the least acknowledgement of their past error, preached and acted the quite contrary, I did prepare a pastoral letter, which if I had seen reason to alter my judgement, I thought to have published, . . . and before I went to London I told some of my friends that if that proved

true which was affirmed to us with all imaginable assurance, and which I think more proper for discourse than a letter, it would be an inducement to me to comply. But when I came to town, I found it was false; and without being influenced by any one, or making any words about it, I burnt my paper and adhered to my former opinion."[1] His valued friend, Dr. Hooper, who had himself taken the oaths, urged him strongly to change his mind. "I question not," said the bishop, "that you and several others have taken the oaths with as good a conscience as myself shall refuse them; and sometimes you have almost persuaded me to comply by the arguments you have used; but I beg you to urge them no further, for should I be persuaded to comply, and afterwards see reason to repent, you would make me the most miserable man in the world."[2]

Notwithstanding his strong views on the duties of loyalty and obedience, Kettlewell did not decide on the course which he was to take without long and anxious thought and much consultation. He read what was written on both sides "with all possible care and sedateness." He went to Oxford, and also to London. Sancroft had stood in the place of his

[1] Bishop of Bath and Wells to Bishop of Salisbury, October 5, 1689.—"Life of Ken," by Very Rev. E. H. Plumptre, ii. 48. Dr. Plumptre thinks Ken alludes to the report that James had ceded Ireland to Louis XIV.

[2] Ibid., ii. 43.

bishop, and Kettlewell was probably among the clergy who met at Lambeth for mutual help and support; but long before the time fixed for taking the oaths, his mind was clearly made up. He was greatly distressed at the line taken by many of his fellow-clergy, among others by his old friend Dr. Marsh, who took the oaths "with such a declaration or limitation as should still leave him free to serve again the abdicated king, whose right he acknowledged, whenever his Majesty should be in a condition to demand his allegiance within any of these kingdoms."[1] It is no wonder that "these methods were not at all pleasing to the plain temper of Mr. Kettlewell, who thought they had too much in them of the Prudence of the World, and expected not that they would ever be blessed of GOD, but rather on the contrary." He did his utmost to persuade those of his friends who were inclined to follow this line to adopt a more sincere course, advising them "not to think of doing good to a Church or nation, by *appearing* one thing, and *being* another, or of advancing the cause of truth and justice by Machiavellian turnings and windings, artful shewes and Pretences, Political shifts and Evasions, Court-mists and False Colours," and he warned those who were ready to take the oaths, as they said, "in a lower sense," that "he believed they would find other hardships put upon them, as Fasts and Thanksgivings,

[1] "Kettlewell's Life," p. 220.

and that in their Practise they would be necessitated to come up to the *Highest Sense*, though they renounced it at present in *their Words*." [1]

The question of the so-called "State Prayers" was, indeed, inextricably mixed with that of the oaths, and it is difficult to understand by what process of mind those could have persuaded themselves to pray for William and Mary, who had, but a few months before, asked God to protect King James from the danger of invasion, and to give grace to his subjects "always to bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty."

Kettlewell's opinion seems to have been much valued by his acquaintances. In a letter to Dr. Charlett he is coupled with Dodwell, the Camden Professor of Ancient History, esteemed the most learned man of the time. "The fatal vow being passed by a protestant p." (parliament), says the writer, "to ruine y^e^ best Protestants in y^e^ nation by a contentious zealous a~gt for starving many hundred persons and familys for conscience sake . . . I would gladly know the judgement of honest Mr. Dodwell in the case . . . I would also know what Mr. Kettlewell thinks." [2]

Dodwell's views were soon made clear. He published a tract to show "how much they deceived themselves who would take those oaths with a *Declaration*, that these words *Fealty* and *Allegiance* signified

[1] "Life," p. 197.

[2] Whitley to Charlett, April 9, 1689, Ballard MSS., 34.

no more than living peaceably under the present Government to whom they vow this, but by which they must mean that they will never be active in assisting the King *de jure* against it, or contribute anything towards his Restauration. . . . Such an Interpretation . . . is contrary to the end of those who impose the Oaths; in that Kings *de jure*, when they imposed such Oaths, did it to oblige their subjects to stand by 'em at all times."[1]

Dodwell's practice corresponded with his principles. His friends, unwilling to lose his services, seem to have suggested that he might continue to lecture, and to receive part of the emolument of the professorship, in the character of a substitute for whomsoever might be appointed his successor; but though he greatly felt the loss of a position so congenial to his tastes and studies, his high sense of truth would not permit him to make use of this subterfuge. "It will seem to imply," he writes to Dr. Charlett, "that I have taken the oaths when I have not, which was condemned by the Primitive Church in the case of the Libellatici. . . . If any expedient may be found which shall save me from scandal as well as sin, I shall be thankful for it,"[2] he adds rather wistfully.

Before August came the great mass of the clergy had taken the oaths, but on very diverse grounds.

[1] Brokesby's "Life of Dodwell," p. 219.
[2] Dodwell to Charlett, Ballard MSS., 34.

"Some took the oath as Lawful, yet did blame the imposition of it as Hurtful. Others did esteem the Lawfulness of it not as certain, but only as probable: and hence did not condemn the Refusers of it. Others again did esteem it in some sense Lawful, but again in another sense unlawful. Some of these took it with a Declaration, expressing the sense wherein they could take it, and wherein not: others took it without any open Declaration or Explicit Interpretation; but with an Implicit relaxation of the same, or limitation hereof, *so far as they were not antecedently bound*, or as might be consistent with the Laws of the Realm, and the rights both of Prince and People. Some also there were, and those not a few, who being not able to see through the argument, did after some pains taken in Examination thereof, remain in Suspense: and thence were willing to be guided by an Implicit Faith after the Judgement of others for whom they did happen to have a particular Deference. Lastly, it is more than probable that there were great numbers both of clergy and Laity, who without troubling themselves much to consider the weight of the argument on either side, were easily contented to determine themselves by the Prevailing opinion both of Lawyers and Divines, and by the solemn Recognition of the Possessor, made at and by the Assembly of the Estates."[1]

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," pp. 217, 218.

Eight bishops, including the primate, and about four hundred clergy,[1] remained firm in their refusal. They were suspended, and in course of time deprived of their benefices; but, in the words of one of their number,[2] "the Preservation of a good conscience, and the securing of inward peace, were preferable to all such secular considerations, tho' ever so advantageous."

[1] A list of names said to have been made for King James is printed in the Appendix to "Kettlewell's Life." It is incomplete.

[2] Francis Brokesby, Rector of Rowley.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1690–1691.

THE NONJURORS DURING THEIR SUSPENSION—PROTEST AND DEATH OF THE BISHOPS OF WORCESTER AND CHICHESTER—DEAN GRANVILLE LEAVES DURHAM AND RETIRES TO THE CONTINENT—SERVICES AT ELY HOUSE FORBIDDEN—SHERLOCK AND SOME OTHERS TAKE THE OATHS—PUBLICATIONS OF THE JACOBITE LITURGY—BISHOPS CHARGED WITH PUTTING FORTH THE LITURGY, AND INVITING FOREIGNERS TO ATTACK THE COUNTRY—KETTLEWELL PROSECUTED FOR PRAYING FOR KING JAMES—THE DEPRIVATION OF NONJURING CLERGY TAKES EFFECT—SANCROFT FORCED TO LEAVE LAMBETH—PROTESTS OF FRAMPTON, KEN, AND HICKES—KETTLEWELL PUBLISHES PRAYERS FOR THOSE WHO SUFFER FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS.

"The Church of Christ is still bearing His Cross in some part or other."—KETTLEWELL.

"Single-eyed faith in loyalty serene."
Lyra Apostolica.

As time went on, the division between the complying clergy, as those were termed who had taken the

oaths, and the non-compliers, or Nonjurors, bore its inevitable fruit of bitterness; but while the separation was new, and the struggles which each had gone through were freshly remembered, the relations between good men of both parties were marked by charity and mutual respect. Sancroft retained the services of his chaplains, both of whom had taken the oaths, up to the time of his deprivation, and treated them afterwards with uniform kindness. Traces of the same friendly spirit are constantly to be found. "Though I suppose it would be perjury in me to quit that oath which I still think obligatory," writes Ambrose Bonwicke, the Master of Merchant Taylor's School, to a friend (who had urged that "he that hath no longer a right to the Government has no longer a right to the allegiance"), "yet I have a very charitable opinion of those that have taken the new one."[1]

But these charitable feelings on the part of the Nonjurors did not spring from any uncertainty as to the rightness of their choice. Rather, perhaps, the security which they felt in their own consciences disposed them to take a calm view of those who differed from them, and to give them credit for as much honesty as themselves. Before the time for suspension arrived, their hearts were strengthened by the dying testimony of two of their number. Dr.

[1] Life of Ambrose Bonwicke, edited by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor.

Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, was taken ill on the Eve of St. John Baptist. Feeling that his end drew near, he sent for the dean, George Hickes, and made in his presence a solemn protest, in words that sank deep into Hickes's heart and memory.

"Mr. Dean," said the dying bishop, "I was glad when I heard you was come home, for I longed to speak with you before I died, for I perceive I have but a short time to live. I bless God that I have twice suffered in the same righteous cause, and it is time for me now to die, who have outlived *the Honour of my religion* and *the Liberties of my country*. It hath been a great comfort to me in this general Apostacy of my clergy, whom I have endeavoured to keep upright and steady, in their principles, that you have not forsaken me, but keep constant with me to the same principles. I have read all the books written for taking the Oath, in which I find the authors more Jesuit than the Jesuits themselves: and if my heart deceive me not, and the Grace of GOD fail me not, I think I could burn at a stake before I took this new Oath. I pray GOD bless you and reward your Constancy."[1] Two days after he had thus spoken, this upright Christian and good bishop departed to the land of truth and uprightness. He lies in the cloister of his cathedral, "out of Modesty not thinking himself worthy to lye within the Church;"

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," pp. 200-202.

and over his grave is an inscription composed by himself—

"Depositum Gulielmi Thomas, S.T.P.
Olim Decani Wigorniensis indigni,
Postea Episcopi Menevensis indignioris,
Tandem Episcopi Wigorniensis indignissimi;
Meritis tandem CHRISTI ad vitam æternam Candidati." [1]

In the beginning of August, Dr. Lake, Bishop of Winchester, also passed away. Early in the morning, before his last Communion, he caused his chaplain to write a declaration expressing his mind on the matter of the oaths. It runs thus—

"Being called by a sick and as I think a dying bed, and the good hand of GOD upon me in it, to take the last and best Viaticum, the Sacrament of my dear Lord's Body and Blood, I think myself obliged to make this short recognition and profession. That whereas I was baptised into the religion of the Church of England, and sucked it in with my milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the whole course of my life, and now if so be the will of GOD shall dye in it. And I had resolved through GOD's grace assisting me, to have dyed so, though at a stake.

[1] "The *depositum* of Dr. William Thomas, heretofore the unworthy Dean of Worcester, then the more unworthy Bishop of St. David's, and lastly the most unworthy Bishop of Worcester; but by the Merits of CHRIST at last a Candidate of Eternal Life."

"And whereas that religion of the Church of England taught me the doctrine of non-resistance and passive obedience, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the distinguishing character of the Church of England, I adhere no less firmly and steadfastly to that, and in consequence of it have incurred a suspension from the exercise of my office, and expected a deprivation. I find in so doing much inward satisfaction, and if the oath had been tendered at the peril of my life, I could only have obeyed by suffering.

"I desire you, my worthy friends and brethren, to bear witness of this upon occasion, and to believe it as the words of a dying man, and who is now engaged in the most sacred and solemn act of conversing with GOD in this World, and may, for ought he knows to the contrary, appear with these very words in his mouth at the dreadful tribunal."

The bishop read over this declaration himself, in the course of the Eucharistic Office, and signed it with his own hand immediately before receiving the Holy Mysteries.

Almost all the nonjuring clergy seem to have remained at their posts up to the time of deprivation, and continued as far as possible to perform their usual duties.[1]

[1] This continuance of the suspended clergy at their posts was of immense value to the Church. They could not sit themselves

Dean Granville is perhaps the solitary exception. His sturdy temper could not brook even so much appearance of submission to the new order as might be involved in abstaining from active resistance. When he found that the citizens of Durham could be roused to no effort on behalf of James II., he quitted the city, "to preserve my innocency by flight," as he quaintly says, "since I could not do it by sitting still and staying in Durham." He betook himself first to Carlisle, which was still held for the king. There he waited on the bishop, and deposited with him "some solemne assurances of living and dying in the right Church of England religion;" from Carlisle he passed into Scotland, and after sundry journeys to and fro, in the course of which he was arrested "as a fugitive and dangerous person," he gave up all hope of serving the falling cause in England, and retired to France, there to follow the

in Convocation, but they could use their influence to secure the return of good men as proctors. "I will take what care I can," writes Bishop Ken to Lord Weymouth in March, 1689, "in the choice of Convocation Men. I thought the two last had been very steddy, but the current of preferment running at present y^e^ other way, 'tis hard in so giddy an age as this, to choose those who will row against the streame."—Dean Plumptre, "Life of Ken," ii. p. 38. Others, no doubt, took as much care as Ken, and thus the absent Nonjurors had their part in the Convocation which resisted the revision of the Prayer-book according to the mind of Burnet and Tillotson.

fortunes of his royal master. In this voluntary exile he passed the remainder of his life.[1]

A serious question, and one which affected the laity as much or more than the clergy, arose when the period of suspension began. Nonjurors, and those who sympathized with them, naturally disliked the ministrations of men who had taken the oaths,[2] and felt great hesitation in attending services in which prayers were used for William and Mary. In the country, indeed, the nonjuring clergy seem to have continued to serve their Churches, in some cases until the period of deprivation, and perhaps till the appointment of their successors. Lord Clarendon's private diary shows us his own practice at this time,

[1] Granville acted as chaplain to the members of the English Church at St. Germains. In spite of much persuasion and some persecution, he remained faithful to his Church, and died "dans toutes les règles de la religion Anglicane," in the house of a French merchant in Paris in the year 1704. It is pleasant to add that "he who had buried so many in gardens and fields in France had the honour to be buried himself in a churchyard in Paris . . . through the kindness of Queen Mary Beatrice . . . who had always been kind to him, giving him many a 20 guinneys when she had not many to spare for herself. He called her his mother, and gave her the character of a most compassionate woman." — "Granville's Remains," i. p. 210.

[2] Lord Clarendon asking a sick friend if he would see a priest, the friend inquired if he had taken the oaths. "I told him he had not, on which he said, that was well."—"Diary," June 8.

which was probably that of many others. When at Charlebury, he attended the parish church, accompanied on one occasion by the Bishop of Ely, the services being performed by the vicar, who had not taken the oaths; but when he was in town, where the suspension appears to have been vigorously enforced, we frequently find such an entry as, "Sunday—I stirred not abroad," though he had previously been a most regular church-goer. In January the Bishop of Ely was in London, and then the Sunday entry is, "I went to church at Ely House, where I received the Communion." This continued for several Sundays, and the chapel was sometimes crowded; but King William heard of these gatherings with displeasure, and the "poor bishop" of St. Asaph (who is usually spoken of by his nonjuring friends with kindness tempered by contempt) warned Turner that he had better shut up his chapel. Apparently the bishop disregarded this hint, for in the following week it was repeated in the form of an order; "so that I perceive," says Clarendon, "all people are to have liberty of conscience but those of the true Church of England;" and on the Sunday after he invited the bishop to read prayers at his own house.

All who wished well to the Church viewed the situation with dismay; although, since William's Government was now firmly established, hopes were

entertained that some *modus vivendi* might be found.[1] Sundry endeavours were made to pass a Bill giving the king power to dispense with the oath, at least in certain cases, but the opposition was too strong, and these efforts came to nothing. Then the Bishops of London and St. Asaph tried to shake Sancroft's determination. They called on him together, and begged him to remember that the 1st of February was near at hand; could he not take some steps towards the government? The primate was sometimes hesitating in action, but when once his mind was made up, his calm endurance never failed. "If," he said, "the king thought fit for his own sake that they should not be deprived, he must make it his

[1] See the answer of the Bishop of Norwich to some of his clergy who wrote to request his counsel; "for though," they say, "we can *think of nothing but losing all*, yet we are passionately desirous to be instructed how we shall leave our respective cures, whether voluntarily, or stay till particular Intruders thrust us out by Pretext of Law. As also which way to behave ourselves to preserve (if possible) the old *Church of England*."

This letter is signed by seven beneficed and two unbeneficed clergy of the archdeaconry of Sudbury, and was sent to the bishop through Dr. Bisbie, Rector of Long Melford. In the bishop's reply, dated January 6, 1689-(90), he tells the applicants that in the opinion of eminent lawyers "we may keep our legal Possessions till we be further Sentenced and thrust out," but "there have been some *mitigating Proposals* made to us, by those who assure us that they are our good friends. What the Issue may be you shall know, as soon as we can arrive at any Resolution."—"Life of Kettlewell," Appendix.

business; they could not vary from what they had done."

When the day of deprivation approached, a few of the Nonjurors, the most considerable of whom was Dr. William Sherlock, Master of the Temple,[1] reconsidered their position, and took the oaths at the last moment. The rest remained constant, but the Government, hoping perhaps for more proselytes, delayed to carry out the sentence, and for yet another year the bishops remained in their sees, and apparently, in the case at least of Gloucester and Bath and Wells, continued to ordain and confirm, though all legal matters passed through the hands of Burnet, who seems to have exercised a sort of general authority in these dioceses.

The position of the nonjuring clergy was far from pleasant during this period of uncertainty. Their friends continually pressed them to submit, and the careless crowd jeered at scruples which they were unable to comprehend; the enemies of the Church were forward to insinuate wrong motives for their apparent self-sacrifice; some, whose own consciences

[1] The satirists of the time attributed Sherlock's submission to the persuasions of his wife, who is represented as asking—

> "What's censure to six hundred pounds a year?
> Come, come, excuse is vain; this oath must be
> If you intend to live in peace with me."
>
> Quoted in "Life of Ken," by a Layman, ii. 549.

were unsatisfied, endeavoured to stifle their lingering scruples by joining in the chorus of disapprobation. "Our old fool, the bishop, I perceive is in the number of the opposers," said one of the Gloucestershire clergy, who had been under special obligations to Frampton. "Well, George," said the bishop, with humorous good temper, when next he met the speaker, "as old a fool as I am, my memory is yet good, and thou maist take a review of thy many sermons which assert the doctrine which I now maintain; answer thyself by any other argument than gain, and let me bear my own burthen."

Other troubles, more serious than ridicule, arose in the course of the spring and summer of 1690. March the 12th had been set apart by the Government as a day of prayer and fasting for the success of William's forces in Ireland. Shortly before the appointed day, a form of prayer appeared, containing petitions that the nation might be delivered from "rebellion, blood, and perjury," and that the former Government might be raised up in Church and State, so "that we may be no longer without king, without priest, and without God in the world." This form, known as the "Jacobite Liturgy," was distributed by thousands in every part of the country. Its authorship has never been certainly known, but at the time it was generally attributed to the nonjuring bishops. In June, the English and Dutch fleets were beaten by

a French squadron off Beachy Head, and while the excitement caused by the defeat was at its height, an anonymous pamphlet came out, entitled "A Modest Enquiry into the Present Disasters," in which the nonjuring bishops and clergy were accused in most scurrilous terms of having conspired to bring about a French invasion.

The bishops had remained silent under the imputation of having composed the "Jacobite Liturgy;" but when to this was added the charge of having incited foreigners to attack their country, they felt it necessary to defend themselves. They drew up a short paper, in which, with great dignity and calmness, they deny all connection with the "Jacobite Liturgy," and protest that they had never, directly or indirectly, held any correspondence with the French Government, nor engaged in any plots against that now established in England, but would always "study to be quiet, to bear our cross patiently, and to seek the good of our native country." This declaration was signed by the archbishop, and the Bishops of Norwich, Ely, Peterborough, and Bath and Wells. The Bishop of Gloucester was not then in town.

It seems almost incredible that the bishops could not obtain a licence for publishing this declaration, and were forced to print and circulate it privately. It has been thought, from this and other indications, that the "Jacobite Liturgy" and the "Modest Enquiry"

were written and published with the same object—"to create a scare which should sweep Papists and nonjuring bishops alike into a common destruction."[1] If this is so, the plot was, up to a point, successful. The mob was everywhere roused against the Nonjurors. Bishop Lloyd's house in London was attacked, and he and his family compelled to fly. "The most Innocent and Peaceable Persons, such as Mr. Kettlewell, were dressed in Bearskins that they might be publicly Baited." It was probably at this time that Kettlewell was prosecuted for persisting in praying for King James and the Prince of Wales, "and to the Penalty thereby incurred most cheerfully submitted himself, accounting it all Joy to suffer affliction here for the Testimony of a good Conscience, and for Perseverance in a true Profession of Faith and Manners, but especially in Sincerity with respect to all the affairs both of GOD and Man." It was not always thought necessary to have a distinct charge before arresting supposed favourers of the late Government.

[1] Dean Plumptre cites Mr. Anderdon and the Rev. T. Lathbury in support of this view. The supposed contriver of these two publications was one Speke, who by his own confession "kept up a continual correspondence with King James by King William's knowledge and direction." The "Jacobite Liturgy" strongly resembles one put forth by the Royalists in 1659, under the title of "Prayers for them that mourn in secret over the public calamities of the nation."—Plumptre, "Life of Ken," ii. 85.

"I am the first sacrifice in my profession to popular fury," wrote a clergyman living near Canterbury to the archbishop soon after the publication of the "Modest Enquiry." "I was insolently taken out of my house at Aldington at 7 in the evening, and carryed a prisoner into Hythe, where I was barbarously used till Thursday, then I was conveyed by a party of dragoons to Canterbury and there kept till Saturday in the evening, and then bail was taken for me. . . . It was urged that in Monmouth's rebellion men were taken without charge, and this seems a revenge for that. . . . I was several times upbraided with a sermon . . . which I here send your Grace."[1]

[1] The sermon, of which a copy accompanied this letter, was preached some time in 1689, before the suspension of the bishops, to arouse interest in the persecuted Church of Scotland. The following extracts may be found interesting: "See what desolation has been made upon the Episcopal clergy of Scotland. The sacred order of Bishops not only abolished, but their Persons and Estates, and all that adhered to them, exposed to popular fury, and the Rabble for the most part made their Judge and Executioner too. . . . Let this blow that is given to the Episcopal Church of Scotland, the more nearly affect us, because we may reasonably suspect that the Church [of England] is wounded through her sides. Let us not neglect that Church that bears the nearest affinity to our own . . . let not any man that can assist in or rejoice at the ruin of such persons ever after pretend to be a genuine son of the Church of England. . . . Let us address ourselves to the Throne of Grace to restore these Golden Candlesticks to His Church, which are at present removed."

The bishops' declaration produced a reaction in their favour, but public opinion was once more stirred up by the discovery of a plot in favour of James, in which Lord Preston and other leading Jacobites were involved, and one bishop, Turner of Ely, was suspected of abetting the conspirators. The charge was never proved, but Turner's flight to France was taken as an evidence of guilt, and though there was no ground for supposing that any of his brother bishops had taken part in the matter, the movements of the Nonjurors were closely watched from this time.

Meanwhile the archbishop began to prepare for his deprivation. In August, 1690, he ceased to exercise the traditional hospitalities of Lambeth, and dismissed the greater part of his large household. Soon after he took the first step towards providing for the separate worship of the Nonjurors. A Mr. Snatt (probably William Snatt, Prebendary of Chichester and Vicar of Cookfield [1]), with two friends, waited on him to ask his advice on the subject. "Do you really want satisfaction?" inquired the archbishop, and being assured that they did, directed them not to attend the public prayers, and gave Mr. Snatt his permission to hold services privately.

[1] Mr. Snatt's deprivation seems to have reduced him to penury, for among a number of receipts in the Bodleian for sums given to impoverished Nonjurors is the entry, "Received, Wm. Snatt, £2 2*s*.

The see was accepted by Tillotson in October, and from that time he appears to have received the emoluments, but his public nomination did not take place till the 23rd of April, 1691. Sancroft took no notice of the appointment, and refused to see Tillotson, who proposed to call upon him. On the 20th of May he received an order from the queen to quit Lambeth Palace within ten days, but to this order he paid no attention. He would not, by any word or sign, acknowledge the right of the secular power to deprive him, on purely secular grounds, of his spiritual position; but he was careful that this attitude should not bring trouble on those about him. One day he called his chaplains into his chamber, thanked them for their faithful services, and told them that the time had now come when they must part. As affairs then stood, it might be dangerous for them to serve him longer. Both Needham and Wharton assured him that though they had been unable to agree with his Grace as to public matters, yet they feared no danger that might come to them in attending him. The old man's face brightened. "Will you so?" he said. "Then go on in God's name."

The archbishop celebrated Holy Communion in Lambeth Chapel for the last time on Whit-Sunday, May 31, the day of Tillotson's consecration. Snatt brought his little congregation to join in the service, and he and another Nonjuror, Dr. Charles Trumbull,

Rector of Stystead, read the prayers and preached. On the 12th of June an action of ejectment was brought against Sancroft in the Exchequer Court, and on the 23rd judgment was passed. He preserved to the last the same attitude of reserved and silent dignity. Between seven and eight o'clock in the evening of the day on which judgment had been given, so privately, that even his chaplains did not know of his departure, he entered a boat at Lambeth Ferry, and, accompanied by his nephew, who had acted as his steward, and three friends, he was rowed down to the Temple, and then took refuge in a hired lodging in Palgrave Court. It was the second time in his life that he suffered deprivation for conscience' sake, having been ejected in 1651 from his fellowship at Emmanuel for refusing the "Engagement."

His nephew returned to Lambeth, and next day dismissed the remaining servants with much kindness, and a present of six months' wages. Alms were also bestowed on the poor, and a donation on the curate of the parish.[1] The two chaplains were not long in finding the place to which their beloved archbishop had retired. He received them "with extraordinary kindness," and made them say the office of the day

[1] With singular want of generosity, William Sancroft was committed to the Marshalsea, and fined £500, for no apparent reason but his refusal to yield possession of the palace till application was made by the proper official.

with him; and during the time that he remained in the Temple, one of them, Mr. Needham, came almost daily to read prayers.

Archbishop Sancroft met his change of fortune with the utmost cheerfulness. The Earl of Aylesbury, who came to call on him in Palgrave Court, seeing the aged primate himself come to open the door, burst into tears at this contrast with the stately ceremonial of Lambeth. "O my good lord," said the archbishop, "rather rejoice with me, for now I live again;" and to a gentleman who offered to make some provision for his necessities, he replied that he could live as well on £50 a year as ever he did in his palace. On the 3rd of August he finally left London, and retired to a small property which he possessed at his birth-place, Fressingfield, in Suffolk. Soon after his arrival he wrote to an old friend, Sir Henry North, "Excuse me, I pray you, to those friends I have, either at Lambeth or in London, that I took no leave of them when I came away; even from thence I began to enter into that privacy and silence and retiredness which I ought and desire to court as my life requires above all things."[1]

The deprivation of the other Nonjurors quickly followed that of the primate, and, in differing ways, each took farewell of the familiar places in which he was to dwell no more. In Gloucester Cathedral,

[1] "Familiar Letters of Archbishop Sancroft."

Frampton preached on the text, "Give an account of thy stewardship, for thou mayest be no longer steward."[1] Turner protested against his deprivation in the market-place at Ely; Ken, with more dignity, from his episcopal throne at Wells, charged his flock to remember that he was still their "Canonical Pastor." The document which George Hickes fixed up in the cathedral at Worcester strikes a ringing note of defiance. "Know ye," it runs, "that whereas the Office, Place, and Dignity of Dean of this Cathedral Church of Worcester was given and granted unto me for a Freehold during my natural life . . . and whereas I am given to understand that my Right to the said Office and Dignity has of late been called in question, and that one Mr. Talbot, M.A., pretends a Title to the same . . . I do hereby publicly PROTEST . . . that

[1] Bishop Frampton left a servant in the palace at Gloucester with orders to remain till forced to quit, by way of showing that he had not relinquished his claim to possession. He sent Bishop Lloyd a humorous account of the arrival of his "successor, coadjutor, *locum tenens*, or whatever other title he ought to have" (Fowler). "Our new Bishop came down about a week since, and had not his unseasonable modesty hindered it, by coming in y^e^ night, we had had as great a noyse with our bels and bonfires as you have had upon another occasion. But what was wanting in solemnity he himself made up by his preaching, Sunday was se'ennight, on these words, '*Swear not at all*,' by which he proved very learnedly ye necessitie of y^e^ late Oath, and y^e^ great guilt of those y^t^ refuse it."—Williams MSS., quoted in "Life of Ken," by a Layman.

I do not any way relinquish my said Title, but shall, God willing, use all just means which the Laws of this land allow, for the Preservation and Recovery thereof . . . and I do hereby require you, the Subdean and Prebendaries and all other Members of this Church with the Chapter Clerk . . . to take notice of this my Declaration. . . ." [1]

From many a pleasant country parsonage, possibly the home of half a lifetime, the clergy went out with their families to face the world as best they might. They went from Cathedral close and city curacy, from grammar school and professorship. Almost every college in Oxford lost some of its members; at Cambridge the Master and twenty-five Fellows came forth from St. John's alone.

Nor was the movement confined to the clergy. Peers had given up their place in Parliament, officers their commissions, officials their occupation and their income; undergraduates refused their degree, rather than take an oath which they held to be against their honour and the law of England.

Respect for law, and reverence for truth, have seldom been more nobly illustrated.

The exact date at which Kettlewell left Coleshill is uncertain, but it was probably some time in the summer of 1691. One of his parishioners, Mr. Jacomb, master of the grammar school at Coleshill, followed his

[1] Appendix to "Kettlewell's Life."

example, and refused the oaths. So did a neighbour, Mr. Bull, Rector of Sheldon; but the average of Non-jurors in the diocese of Lichfield and Coventry is lower than in many other parts of England. If Kettlewell made any protest, his biographer does not mention it, and his only recorded saying, on leaving his parish, is an expression of thankfulness for his wife's improved health. He told Hickes "with much satisfaction" that he "blessed God that whereas when he was in Warwickshire, where they were so well settled, and she needed not want anything that was convenient for her, she had always an infirm and sickly body, after it had pleased God to give him a *travelling cause*, he had also given her a *travelling body*, and a more firm and healthful constitution for bearing the fatigues and exercises they were obliged to undergo."

But his inmost feelings were poured out in the prayers which he prepared for his own use during the painful struggles of the two years which preceded his deprivation, and which he now published for the use of his fellow-sufferers, whose hearts they must have helped to calm and strengthen.

This chapter may fitly end with a few extracts from the "Office for those who suffer for Righteousness," as Kettlewell named this manual of devotion, in which we see as in a mirror the pain and perplexity of the hour.

"O Almighty and most gracious God, who suitest

Thy gifts to our necessities, in these suffering times give us a suffering spirit, and enable me *to bear hardship as a good soldier of Jesus Christ.* Endue me with such patience under the same as no heaviness or length of time shall overcome. . . . Oh that I may persevere in waiting, and hold on to the end, and never let go my Patience when my Persecutors have left me nothing else, or cast away my confidence in Thee."

The prayer in the same Office, "*Against Evil Surmises,*" shows how hard he strove, and taught others to strive to keep the bond of charity unbroken in the midst of outward divisions.

"O gracious God," so runs the prayer, "in censuring the persons or actions of all those who either persecute us, or in these days of Trial are fallen from Thee, let equity and candour direct and govern all our thought and speeches, and let not ill-will biass us. Oh that we may never charge them with imaginary guilts, through our own evil Surmises ; nor hastily make sure of any things against them, while they are really uncertain, nor make the worst of doubtful things which good will may easily think better of . . . let us not shew severity in accusing them violently, and condemning them without any mixture of mercy for having been overborne by fear, or for having complied too far for sustenance or safety, for having erred under some great astonishment, and when they had

little time for deliberation, and little help in counsel and advice, or for falling away other ways, in very difficult and perplexed circumstances."

One more extract may be given; for these prayers, composed to meet an immediate need, display their writer's mind as clearly as any diary.

"Reconcile all jarring spirits, cause all discords and divisions to cease, and dispose us all, O Jesu, Thou Prince of Peace, to see those truths which make for peace, and tend to close our breaches, and willingly submit to them. . . . Especially, O Lord, keep us from placing all in the notes of a Party. Let not our persecutions be lost upon us, nor let us be unprofitable scholars in the school of affliction. . . . Under all its wants and backslidings, sorrows and distresses, look Thou upon Thy Church, O Lord, and support and deliver it. Many are those who combine against it, and great is their power, and vigilant and earnest is their care and endeavour to suppress and destroy it. . . . Do not Thou forsake it, O Lord, for it flies to Thee, and rests on Thee alone for succour. . . . Bring it safe through this fiery trial, and let it not be consumed thereby, but as gold is, only purged and purified of its dross. . . . Give it a cure, O Lord, of all its errors and impurities, and quietness in the end from persecutions, and grace not to grow careless or be corrupted by days of ease, but to improve the same, in doing Thee

honour and service with more freedom and fewer interruptions. Through Jesus Christ our Lord."

"This little book," he writes in the preface, "may be put into the hands of the persecuted, not only as a form of devotion, but as a manual of instruction. These *duties* are as the salt to the sacrifice, without which their own oblation of themselves would be insipid."

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1691-1692.

THE NONJURORS UNDER CONSTANT SUSPICION—KETTLEWELL SETTLES IN LONDON—FRIENDSHIP WITH ROBERT NELSON—ORATORIES OF THE NONJURORS—SANCROFT APPOINTS LLOYD TO ACT AS HIS VICAR—CONSECRATION OF INTRUDING BISHOPS—DODWELL RETIRES TO SHOTTESBROOK—FRANCIS CHERRY—PENITENCE OF SOME COMPLYING CLERGY.

"Oh! not vain
If haply on the wakening heart remain
The vow of pure self-sacrifice,
The conscience yearning to devise
How God may have His treasure lost,
And we not serve Him without cost."

REV. JOHN KEBLE.

THE Nonjurors were followed into their retirement by suspicion and surveillance. Sancroft sends his letters under cover; they will come "more safely than if my direction appeared without." "It is somewhat strange," he complains, "that I should be accused to one prince for having invited his Highness of

Nassau to invade my native country, and to another for inviting his cousin the King of France thither, whereas I should as soon have invited the Witch of Endor." The air was full of plots, real or pretended, and the most peaceful and straightforward people could not escape suspicion. Even Bishop Ken thinks it necessary to beg that his letters may be directed, not to himself, but to his nephew, Isaac Walton the younger, to whose house he retired on first leaving Wells. Indeed, Ken seems at one time to have been in danger of imprisonment, if we may judge from the language of Archbishop Sancroft to Sir Henry North: "It grieves me to have missed (when I was so nigh it) the seeing of my reverend brother of Bath and Wells. I am not surprised to hear that his innocency and courage was so bold as to appear openly; but am (I confess) that he did it safely. . . . The Lord Preston's story continues still (like the earth in the Psalmist) to be full of dark places; and God grant it be not also of cruel habitations. I cannot interpret the innocent drolleries of the Bishop of Gloucester as some, it seems, do; I take him to be a pleasant, but withal a stout and a steady man. . . . Find out, I pray, Mr. Kettlewell, and with my kind respects, give him the enclosed." [1]

It is evident from this letter that Kettlewell was no longer at Coleshill. His abode for the first six

[1] D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft."

months after his deprivation, is not known, and it is probable that, like many of his brethren, he was at first compelled to adopt a wandering and concealed life, during which he underwent the "fatigues and exercises" of which he spoke to Hickes. If he had already made the acquaintance of Lord Preston's brother, Colonel James Graham (the name is often spelt "Grahme," and in Lady Russell's letters appears as "Grarm"), with whose family he was afterwards on terms of close friendship, such an intimacy would have been sufficient to expose him to the suspicion of the Government. Sir Henry North, however, succeeded in finding him, and no doubt delivered Sancroft's packet, for in a letter dated September 23, the archbishop sends him another message: "My kind respects, I pray, to that good and worthy man, Mr. Kettlewell, whom I am sorry to have involved in part of my trouble. But you may assure him again I will have no commerce with that importunate and impetuous man [Mr. Bull, Kettlewell's former neighbour at Sheldon], and seeing, as you write, you opened his last letter, and Mr. K. read it, he cannot but see reason enough why I should resolve to have no more to do with his troublesome neighbour." We have no means of knowing whether Bull was trying to involve his friends in one of the many plots of the time, or whether he was one of those persons referred to in another of the archbishop's letters, in which he

says that "the spirit of calumny and persecution of the tongue dogs me even into this wilderness. . . . It has been reported . . . that I go constantly to this parish church, and pray for I know not whom, nor how, and receive the Holy Sacrament there . . . whereas I was never so much as out of this poor house and its yards and avenues, since I came first directly from London into it, and I never suffered our vicar or any other, nor even my chaplains, when they were here, so much as to say grace where I eat, but I constantly officiate myself *secundum usum Lambethianum*, which you know, and never give the Holy Sacrament but to those of my own persuasion and practise."

Similar reports had been circulated with regard to Frampton, which received some colour of probability from the tacit permission which he received through the kindness of the Bishop of London, to retain the small living of Standish, where he resided till his death, paying curates to serve the church, and living himself on the remainder of the income, about £40 a year.[1]

[1] He retained Standish by connivance only. His successor in the bishopric endeavoured to oust him by appointing a new vicar, but the gentleman to whom the living was offered refused to accept it, not choosing to turn out Frampton. The bishop kept his old chaplain with him, a Nonjuror, who is the probable author of his biography. After a time he preached and catechized in the church, and sometimes said the prayers, omitting those for the royal family.

But he was always faithful to his principles, and seems never for a moment to have regretted the sacrifice which he had made.

"My good, dear, honoured father," he writes to Sancroft, "This change of mine hath done me a great deal of good, having made me, I hope, a much better man than I was, or perhaps without it should ever have bin." And the Bishop of Peterborough also writes of him, "My brother Robert of Gloucester is so full of cheerfulness and generosity of temper, that it shows his suffering makes no other alteration in the bravery of his spirit, but only to improve it."

The Bishop of Peterborough himself showed, says Kennet, "exemplary magnanimity and constancy of soul" during his years of deprivation.

The entire cheerfulness with which the Nonjurors met their lot, is indeed a very striking feature in their history. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth some provision had been made for the deprived bishops, and even the Commonwealth assigned an allowance, though scanty and irregularly paid, to the families of the ejected clergy; but, though an Act had been passed specially empowering the Government to make provision for twelve deprived persons, not a farthing was ever offered to any one of these venerable men, some of whom were in advanced age. Even Ken, universally beloved and reverenced, who had been for years chaplain to Queen Mary at the Hague, was

left a pensioner on the princely generosity of Lord Weymouth, who, though after a while he took the oaths himself, showed sympathy and kindness to the Non-jurors in every possible way.

Kettlewell was more fortunate than many of his brethren. The little farm of Lowfields, on which he was born, belonged to him, and Lord Digby, who had never legally completed the cession of the great tithes of Coleshill to the Church, now revoked his intention, and employed the money for his benefit and that of another deprived priest.[1] This kindness enabled him, when he could safely appear in public, to take a house in London, and here he formed a friendship which not only brightened his later years, but opened to him fresh channels of influence.

In December, 1691, Robert Nelson returned from a lengthened stay on the Continent, firmly resolved not to acknowledge William and Mary, but undetermined what course to adopt in Church matters, and smarting under his wife's recent secession to Rome. Tillotson had been his dearest friend, and to him he confided his difficulties. The answer of the new archbishop is creditable to his honesty. "As to

[1] See a letter in Ballard MSS., 25: "My Lord Digby hath disposed of 2 [livings]. Mr. Kettlewell's was one, but designs to take the great tithes of Coleshill in his own hands, being given only by the wish of his brother, not sufficient to convey them, being partly the entayled estate, and with them he will help Mr. Kettlewell and the other minister."

the case you put," he wrote,[1] "I wonder men should be divided in opinion about it. I think it plain that no man can join in prayers in which there is any petition which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick anywhere, much less in religion."

Nelson acted on this advice, and became a Nonjuror. His wife's change, and the break from his former friends, left him a lonely man, peculiarly open to the bright sympathy of Kettlewell, whose house in Gray's Inn Lane was close to Nelson's home in Great Ormond Street. The two rapidly became intimate, and Kettlewell succeeded to that place as guide and adviser, which had before been filled by Tillotson.[2]

In Ormond Street Kettlewell must have made the acquaintance of Pepys and his colleague, Thomas Bowdler, both as Nonjurors dismissed from their posts at the Admiralty; of Francis Lee, who afterwards was to write his life; and of Hilkiah Bedford, the deprived Rector of Wickering, who later on was associated with Nelson in the publication of a once famous book on "Hereditary Right." With his old friend Hickes, who for several years was liable to arrest, and ventured to London rarely and in disguise, he was in constant communication, so that it was said

[1] "Life of Nelson," by Rev. C. F. Secretan, p. 47.

[2] See ibid.

at one time that no one knew where the Dean of Worcester was but Mr. Kettlewell.[1]

The nonjuring clergy exercised their ministry among their fellows, in small congregations held in private houses, in concealment and not without danger. The history of these oratories is difficult to follow. Great secrecy was observed, since they were liable at any time to be interrupted, and the worshippers brought before a magistrate and a fine imposed. It is said that, to prevent the intrusion of spies, a watchword was agreed on every week by the "faithful remnant."

> "Hold, before to Fetter Lane I go
> 'Tis requisite the entrance word I know;
> Last Sunday 'twas Commandment the fifth,
> And now St. Germains is the shibboleth."[2]

This doggerel refers to an oratory in Fetter Lane, where the excellent Nathaniel Spinckes is believed to have officiated. Jeremy Collier had charge of a congregation in Broad Street. Nelson mentions that Kettlewell said Matins and Evensong daily, and preached on Sundays, so that we may infer that, while

[1] During part of this time Hickes resided with White Kennet; afterwards he was much with Lady Pakington, the supposed author of the "Whole Duty of Man."

[2] "The Jacobite Conventicle," quoted in "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," by Revs. J. H. Overton and C. Abbey.

his health lasted, he acted as pastor to a little group of Nonjurors, probably to those who met in Gray's Inn.

The archbishop did not neglect his scattered flock. In 1692 he issued a commission to Bishop Lloyd to act for him on their behalf, choosing him, he says, as one who "out of that fortitude of mind in which you excel, and that pious zeal for the House of God wherewith you are fired, do yet continue and remain in the suburbs of London. . . . I have not any other," he adds, "who is so much one soul with me. . . . Lo I, William, have written it with my own hand." The letter is dated, "From my poor cottage (which is not yet made a sufficient covering for me in this sharp winter) here in Freezingfield, at this time indeed very hard frozen, within the bounds of your Diocese.—Feb. 9, 1691–(2)."[1]

Meanwhile, not without considerable difficulty, the Government had filled up the places of the dispossessed bishops; Tillotson accepted the primacy with no great show of reluctance, but Beveridge and Sharp, two of the most distinguished among the London clergy, absolutely refused to occupy any see vacant by the ejection of its lawful occupant. Under strong pressure, Kidder, though feeling "that he

[1] Lloyd's position as head of the nonjuring clergy exposed him to constant suspicion. Ken's letters to him are usually directed to "Mrs. Hannah Lloyd," evidently to avoid their examination at the post-office.

should be able to do less good if he came into a Bishopric void by deprivation," accepted Bath and Wells, but he afterwards wrote that "he had often repented of his accepting it, and looked on it as a great infelicity."[1]

"None of the deprived Bishops," writes Dean Hickes, "parted with their Bishoprics with half the reluctancy that some of the acceptors took them; the Episcopal Seals were bespoke, and unbespoke, and at last, after many Agonies and Fluctuations, finally bespoke again. But the Deprived are calm, and smooth, and uniform within; their hearts are fixt on GOD. And their good Principles, they are as free from bitter zeal as from Shame and Remorse; and if you do not envy them the felicity of their deprivations, I dare say they do not envy you their Revenues, and think you no reproach to them, if you do not think them so to you."

Sharpe, though he would not occupy a see from which another had been turned out, had no scruple in accepting that of York on the death of Lamplugh, and pleaded the authority of St. Paul for obedience

[1] The same feeling appears in the tone of his refusal to vote for the attainder of Sir John Fenwick when ordered to do so by Government. "Don't you know whose bread you eat?" he was insolently asked, when he said that he must wait to know the merits of the case. "I eat no man's bread but poor Dr. Ken's," exclaimed the bishop, indignant and conscience-struck.—Dean Plumptre's "Life of Ken," ii. 62.

to a king *de facto*. "'Tis an excellent preservative against Tower-Hill," says Hickes, who was the most uncompromising of men. "A fine pliable Principle as a man can wish; 'twill lap about your Finger like a ring of Barbary gold."[1] He goes on to defend the Nonjurors from the charge of separating on "a mere State-point."

"A distinction must be drawn," he says, "between a State-point which is merely such, and a State-point which happens also to be a point of Morality and practical Religion, and in its Nature affects the Conscience of Men. . . . Was it not a State-point with the loyal Nobility and Gentry and Clergy, whether they should turn liege subjects to *Oliver?* And because it was not a *mere State-point*, but such a one as touched their Consciences, they chose to be sequestred rather than sin in closing with the Usurper. . . . The Clergy did then set up separate meetings from the Churches, and private worship in opposition to the Public . . . for then they thought that it was not the Place nor the Numbers, but the Cause that made the Separation a Schisme, and the Jacobites in like manner think (how truly I shall not here dispute) that they have now just cause of separation given them, and that therefore their Separation is no Schism. The new oath of Allegiance which you intimate to

[1] "An Apology for the new Separations."—Letter to Archbishop Sharpe by George Hickes, 1691.

be a *mere State-point*, they think withal to be a great Point of Religion, in which the interest of Truth, Justice, and moral Honesty are concerned, and they verily believe they cannot take it without breaking 3 or 4 of the Commandments. . . . Besides the *State-point* . . . there is also a *Church-point* of which you take no notice, and that is the putting of new Bishops into the Thrones of the old ones."

The consecration of the new bishops had increased tenfold the difficulties of the situation. Some of those who, though Nonjurors, had continued to attend their parish churches, ceased to do so after the sees had been filled up. Among them was Henry Dodwell. He had been unwilling "to separate from the Public Prayers, notwithstanding there were then several Petitions used to which he could not say, *Amen.*" But when new bishops were intruded into the sees of the old ones, "these he looked upon, being '*Secundi*' as '*Nulli*,' and hence that they and those that joined with them were Schismatics, as intruding into Sees not validly vacated; and hence not to be Communicated with." He addressed a protest to Tillotson, in which he reminded him that he had as Dean of Canterbury promised canonical obedience to Archbishop Sancroft, and urged that the "Lay law" could not be sufficient to discharge him from this obligation. "For if you do, you make it impossible for the Catholic Church to subsist, as

distinct and independent from the State, which will fundamentally overturn the Church as a Society, and consequently be more heretical than many propositions which are of more repute with many inconsidering Persons. . . . We have borne with all Scandals on our parts," he added, "rather than break from your communion. If you will cut yourselves off by acts of your own, we cannot help it."

On Tillotson's consecration, Dodwell ceased to communicate in the Established Church, and when he retired to Shottesbrook, he joined with the squire of that place, Mr. Cherry, in support of a nonjuring chaplain, Francis Brokesby. Cherry was a lover of learning and culture, liberal and full of hospitality, so that his house was a sanctuary to all in distress, "especially those who suffered for conscience' sake;" very handsome, a bold rider and keen sportsman, sweet-tempered, of such a kindly nature that he was never known to speak an ill word even of his most implacable enemy, and, with all these delightful qualities, was also a devout Churchman, pious and temperate, with a share of the humility of the saints. The inscription, chosen by himself, "*Hic jacet peccator maximus*," may still be read on a modest grave, under the ancient trees of Shottesbrook churchyard, where lies the popular squire, so great a favourite with his wide circle of friends that he was called "the delight of Berkshire."

Dodwell made his home in a house which Mr. Cherry built for him close to his own. Here he lived a life of primitive simplicity and austerity. Three days in every week he fasted from all food, save a cup of tea or coffee, until the evening, and in Lent on every day but Sunday. It was not till within two years of his death, and in deference to the entreaties of his friends, that he used himself more gently. "Have I kept Lent these nine and forty years, and must I now leave it off?" he said regretfully, when he yielded to their importunity. This extreme abstinence was thought by some to render the good man "less sweet in his conversation" than could have been wished; but his occasional fits of moroseness appear to have worked themselves off in his numerous controversial letters, and did not interfere with the pleasant and continual intercourse between himself and his friends, Cherry and Brokesby, one or other of whom used, as his eyesight failed from too great application, to come every afternoon to read to him. To fasting he joined almsgiving. A portion of his narrow income was derived from Church property; the whole of this he gave in charity, and the money gained by his writings was chiefly expended on "some worthy Clergyman who was brought to Indigence through his care not to make Shipwreck of a good Conscience." He never missed attendance on the daily morning and evening

prayers of the Church, unless on a journey, when he read the office by himself; nor ever omitted an opportunity of receiving the Holy Communion. Four books were his constant companions—the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, the "Meditations" of St. Augustine, and the "Imitation of Christ."

Dodwell had shrunk from taking orders, partly from his strong feeling of the weight of responsibility resting on all who undertook that "noblest employment," partly because he felt that "while he continued a Laick, and as *such* vindicated the Sacred Ministry, and became the Champion of Religion and the Priesthood, the wicked adversaries of both could have no shadow to object that against him, which they (ridiculously enough) object against *Clergy-men* when they appear as advocates for GOD and Religion, and assert the *Dignity* of their *Office*, and the *Rights* of the Christian *Church*, of which they are Pastors, and Ministers of *Christ* its Head; viz. that they plead their *own Cause* and are byass'd by Self-interest," but his whole heart was in theological studies. His one regret while Camden Professor was that he could lecture on profane history only, and when deprived of his chair he devoted his enormous learning almost entirely to the study of the controversies of the day in the light of Christian antiquity, overwhelming his opponents with a deluge of erudition, which must have left them breathless, if not always convinced.

Many people consulted him in their difficulties. Samuel Keble the publisher[1] (one longs to trace his connection with the author of the "Christian Year") was a Nonjuror, but he could not make up his mind to exchange the familiar parish church, with its round of well-loved services, for some little private oratory, and for this attachment to the past he found himself branded as a schismatic by his brother Nonjurors. In his perplexity he applied to Dodwell for advice. Keble was too modest to write single-handed to the great scholar, and obtained the assistance of one Mr. Jones, a deprived Irish clergyman. "I find some petitions and expressions which I cannot think to be suitable to the place, which I am clog'd and humbled with," they plead in this joint epistle; "but as to any guilt of schism, my conscience has not yet accused

[1] He lived at the sign of the Turk's Head in Fleet Street. "Mr. Keble is a very modest, ingenious, humble man, and has learnt to live much in a little time. He printed that useful book called 'A Week's Preparation for the Sacrament,' and other excellent books of devotion. In his copy entitled 'Rules in the Church of England,' you are directed to the Common Prayer for every hour in the day; and as Mr. Keble has chiefly printed religious books, so he loves serious piety wherever he finds it. Whilst others wrangle about Religion, he endeavours to practise it."—Nicholls, "Lit. Anecdotes," i. p. 702.

Several distinguished publishers were Nonjurors (see Nicholls, "Lit. Anec.," i.); they frequently gave employment to deprived clergymen as readers for the press. Mr. Jones was perhaps engaged in that capacity by Keble.

me. . . . I must desire to be informed whether I am bound to pass Judgement upon my Bishop with reference to the Communion which he holds or desires to hold with the Bishops of other Churches. I may truly say that my Bp. acquaints me not with what he does in this case." Dodwell was inexorable in his view that communion with that portion of the Church which recognized the intruded bishops was necessarily schismatical, but it does not quite appear whether Mr. Keble was persuaded to alter his practice. The writings of the Nonjurors, and yet more, the example of their self-denial, pricked the consciences of some of the compliers sharply. Here and there, one and another fell out of the ranks of the Establishment, and joined the "faithful remnant." Mr. Lowndes,[1] a Cheshire gentleman, who "by the soft interpretation of the magistrate" had been induced to take the oath, became convinced that to take it in any sense was sinful, and signed a solemn declaration of his repentance, which was duly witnessed by the nonjuring Vicar of Middlewich, and six other gentlemen. The Vicar of Ealing and the master of the school at Wantage declared themselves penitent.

"Mr. S.," who is stated by the unknown writer of several manuscript notes in a copy of "Kettlewell's Life" in the writer's possession to be Mr. Stampe,

[1] "Kettlewell's Life," pp. 391, 392.

Rector of Langley, in Wiltshire, but who is identified by Dean Plumptre in his "Life of Ken" with Lewis Southcombe, Rector of Rose Ash, in Devon, fell in with Kettlewell's book on "Christian Prudence," and in consequence laid his difficulties before the author. Kettlewell replied as follows (some portions of the letter, which is very long, are omitted)[1]:—

"Reverend Sir,

"As to the case which you are desirous to know my thoughts of . . . I think when Plain and Gross Wickedness, whether *Idolatry or Immorality*, is made the *matter* of *Public Offices*, it sets People free from that Dependance on any *Pastors*, or union with any *Congregations*, that would oblige them to resort thereto: and leaves them at liberty to seek more Holy Offices; if they can have them under any Pastors *regularly* empowered in other Places. The Communion in the Catholic Church professed in the *Creed*, is a *Communion* of *Saints*, if not in *reality* at least in *profession*, which I think must respect both the *persons* who must be *professed* Saints, and the *offices* which must be *professions* of *Saintship*; and we are not bound to this *Communion* in any Congregation where either of these are wanting. This *Saintship* more especially consists in *Faith* and *Worship*. And

[1] Given at length in "Life," together with Mr. S.'s confession, pp. 358–382.

as *Heresy*, which corrupts *Faith*, will set free from any one's Communion ; so *Sin* made the *matter* of *Worship*, which corrupts *Worship*, and is to the full not only as *disgustful*, but as openly *dishonourable* to GOD ; who is not more reproached by a *false* Belief than by a *wicked* Worship, will do the same.

". . . This may authorise *Laicks* to withdraw from assemblys of such corrupt offices, to seek out *better* and *more holy* for themselves. But as for *Pastors*, they are not only to Partake in *Holy Offices*, but to *provide* and *afford* them. . . . As *Watchmen* they must give *warning ;* as *Guides*, they must put men in *right ways ;* as *Pastors*, they must *feed* them with salutary *ministration* . . . and this where *Peace* and *Union* may be pleaded to go as far as they can.

" But if any Persons unjustly break off from their Rightful Bishops for their *firmness* to *Truth* and *Righteousness*, and *set up* others against them for their having *defected* from both, what have they to do with *Peace* and *Union ?* "

Thus Kettlewell speaks of the " Liberty of breaking off." With regard to the *duty* of doing so, he takes a wider view than Dodwell was disposed to allow. It is to be " with this Limitation, when we can have better ; something is to be abated for the necessity of having Ministerial Offices, in respect whereof there are some allowances to times of a corrupt state of the Church."

Nothing should be done hurriedly, but "there may be some Forbearance of a full Breach in the *Beginning*, and whilst the *corruptions* seem *sanable*, and admit hopes of *Cure* . . . and the necessity of having some Ministerial offices, I think is a strong reason to forbear the same. Thus at first, the Orthodox and the Arian, for all their different belief, met at the same Public offices . . . and thus it would be on the contingency of a manifestly unrighteous war . . . and the same I say as to the *Schismaticalness* of the *Congregations*, for the *obliquity* whereof I think allowance will be made in *necessity*, when we can have *none else*. As I conceive it was among the *Ten Tribes*, all of whose Ministers officiated in a *Schism*, sacrificing at opposite Altars. . . . These things, worthy Sir, I have offered upon the Point you enquire after. . . . "

This letter led to further correspondence, and then to an interview, in which "Mr. S." finally adopted Kettlewell's views, and made by his advice a written confession of his fault, which he sent to Bishop Lloyd, together with a letter in which he begged to be admitted to the "Peace of the Church."

The confession is a touching document. The writer explains how reluctant he had felt to take the oath; how he had been swayed by the example and advice of eminent clergy, together with "some Carnal Politicks, Corrupt Biass, and Sinful Fears," to take it with a

declaration of the sense in which he did so; and how he had felt his position a safe one, until "other compliances" (the continual fast-days and special prayers enjoined by the Government from time to time) were required from him; but the imposition of these prayers, together with the uncanonical deprivation of the Metropolitan without any judicial inquiry, troubled his conscience greatly. He tells how, on one of the first of the new fast-days, before going into Church, he told the clerk that he could not offer up any of the new petitions; "for should I offer up any Prayer which I judged to be immoral, and for which my heart should check me at the very instant, and I take no notice of it, but go on and stifle and suppress these checks . . . certainly I should fear that all my prayers and tears and acts of repentance . . . all my pantings, sighings, languishings for grace and glory, must be dismally desecrated and polluted;" and as he spoke he "burst out on a sudden into a shower of bitter tears," and could scarce recover himself sufficiently to enter the church and begin the service. But he confessed that though he would not himself use the "immoral prayers," he lacked courage to leave them out entirely, and for some time employed a neighbouring clergyman to do for him what he thought it unlawful to do himself, "thus offering another the opportunity of, and putting him upon, an Evil Action. . . . For all which things," he continues, "for want of

demonstrating that heroick and Christian bravery of soul, that touch of the spirit of martyrdom . . . that an Ambassador of the Holy Jesus ought always to be ready to shew . . . I do shame, judge, and condemn myself; God be merciful to me a Penitent. . . . And as of these, so of all other recessions from my baptismal purity and innocence; of all the defects of my Repentances . . . of all my sinful and irregular Steps, Thoughts, Words, and Actions, known or secret, in my personal or Pastoral Conduct, in this great affair or any other . . . whether of Omission or Commission . . . I accuse and judge and condemn myself. GOD be merciful to me a Sinner."

In an accompanying letter, "Mr. S." informed Bishop Lloyd of the steps which he had taken to repair his fault. For some time past he had entirely omitted all names and titles under dispute from the Church prayers, and had publicly told his parishioners that he would lay his reasons for so doing, and for refusing to keep the new fast-days, before any one who desired to learn them. He had written, explaining his conduct, to the bishop of the diocese, and to his archdeacon, and he also designed, since the desire to retain his living had been the cause of his fault, to spend a considerable portion of the proceeds on the poor, and on the adornment of his chancel, and was ready to resign the incumbency if his "lawful supers," *i.e.* Lloyd, as Sancroft's vicar-

general, should think it right. He assures the Bishop that his confession is made "with very great sincerity," and with an unfeigned desire to do his utmost for the "Continuation and Increase of the Strength, and Beauty, and Union, and Honour, of the English Church, and the letting her down to Posterity and the next age upon her Old Foundation" . . . and to compleat and perfect and crown my Repentance, I do faithfully Promise a great Watchfulness (begging humbly in all, the Divine aid) against all temptations to any degrees or instances of Recidivation, till I am called to lay aside my Business here, and make my last Resignation."

Rose Ash is a family living, which has been held by generations of Southcombes even to the present day; and if Mr. Lewis Southcombe were, as is likely, patron as well as incumbent, it is easy to understand how he could feel free to retain his living, and decorate his chancel, at his own will after he had braved the Government. The neighbouring magistrates, genial Devonshire squires, not perhaps without a leaning towards "the king over the water," would have been very unwilling to disturb a gentleman of ancient blood, to whom they were bound by the ties of hereditary friendship, and probably of political sympathy.[1]

[1] The chancel of Rose Ash Church is still decorated with many texts and inscriptions supposed to have been placed there by Mr. Southcombe.—Dean Plumptre's "Life of Ken."

Another penitent had sharper penance. Martin Pinchbeck,[1] curate of Freston, in Lincolnshire, a very poor man with a family dependent on him, had taken the oaths, but after comparing the arguments of Sherlock and Burnet with those of Kettlewell and other Nonjurors, became convinced that he had acted wrongly. Driven almost frantic by self-reproach, he made a public recantation of his errors before his congregation, in a sermon on the words of David, "I have sinned greatly in that I have done," exhorting them to return with him to their rightful allegiance; and, as a crowning act of reparation, he prayed by name for King James, for his queen, and for the Prince of Wales.

For this offence he was tried at the Lincoln Assizes, and was condemned to a fine of £200, to the pillory, and to imprisonment. The pillory was remitted out of respect for his orders, and an offer was made to him to remit the fine and set him free if he would acknowledge himself in fault; but he refused to purchase liberty at the price of his convictions, though the prison afforded, in his own words, "only water and stone," and his wife and family were left to the alms of the charitable. Some Roman Catholics offered to pay his fine, and assist both himself and his family, if he would join their Communion; but this temptation also he withstood, "counting it all joy to

[1] "Kettlewell's Life," pp. 382–387.

suffer for that which he esteemed the cause of righteousness." To an old friend who visited him he said, "Lend me, sir, your fervent and ardent prayers, that I may make that use of my confinement which God hath designed it for."

He "was not sorrowful or dejected, neither was he idle or indolent;" but daily read the prayers of the Church with his fellow-prisoners, and was diligent in instructing the malefactors and preparing the condemned for death; he continued thus cheerfully and patiently labouring in his Master's service within the prison walls until he died.

The "touch of the spirit of martyrdom" is not wanting here.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1691–1693.

SANCROFT AT FRESINGFIELD—QUESTION OF CONSECRATING SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS—HICKES AND WAGSTAFFE NOMINATED AS SUFFRAGANS BY JAMES II.—LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF SANCROFT.

"Shall I lift up my hand? I will cut it off first. Shall I subscribe my name? I will forget it as soon. I can at least look up through this mist and see the hand of my God holding the scourge that lashes, and with this thought I am able to silence all the mutinies of boisterous passions, and to charm them into a perfect calm."—*Sancroft to the Master of Emmanuel, when both were ejected in* 1643 *for refusing the covenant.*

THE close of Sancroft's life is so touching that there is good warrant for a separate notice of it, though it must be brief.

"We had a *Most Reverend Archbishop* at Fresingfield, when there was none at Lambeth, nor nothing like it," wrote one who visited Sancroft in his retirement. The venerable old man bore his changed circumstances with cheerful dignity. "'Tis long since," he wrote to Sir H. North, "that I said of that

great pile [Lambeth], even while I was in it, the old Leonine verse, '*Nunc mea; nunc hujus; sed post ea nescio cujus.*' When I was suddenly driven out of it at eight to nine of the clock at night, I wish it were known how cheerfully I turned my back upon it, and how soundly I slept the night following under another man's roof. But now in this cottage of my own, *questa povera mia capanna*, I am as well to my contentment as the greatest he *qui latè et taxè et magnificè habitat.* . . . Afford me your prayers, dear friend, that when I remove from hence, and that cannot be far off, I may, by God's mercy, have a building of GOD, a house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens."[1]

The archbishop had always been generous; when a young man, himself a sufferer in the troubles of the Great Rebellion, he gave bountifully to friends worse off than himself. "You are a most strange and miraculous good man to me," wrote Dr. Creighton in 1659; and in the same year, Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Cosin sends "most grateful acknowledgements" for timely help. When primate, Sancroft's gifts to St. Paul's Cathedral, to his old college, and to many other objects, were munificent. Now, in his poverty, he found means of helping those who were poorer still. Bishop Lloyd was his almoner, but the personal interest which Sancroft took in his clergy

[1] D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft," ii. p. 49.

is shown in the directions which he gives for the disposal of his alms. On one occasion he had sent Lloyd £18, a large sum as compared to his scanty income; of this, £5 was to be given to Dr. Bisbie, £5 to Mr. Grascombe, and £5 to a clergyman with nine or ten children, "who lately had employment in Norfolk and hath honestly lost it."

He said the Church Service daily in his own house, "as oft as in Lambeth, tho' not in so much company, not in so proper a place."[1] "There is nothing y^t^ I regret y^e^ loss of but Lambith Chapel," he writes, "and y^e^ company of a few friends, but especially of y^r^ Lõhp [Lloyd], who sometimes I had y^e^ happiness to meet there, and whom (in spight of all that hath befallen me) I trust I shall meet still in y^r^ walk to Heaven; for that is almost all y^t^ is left us —to pray for and love one another."

The archbishop was not allowed even these comforts without molestation. His private worship in his own cottage was liable to be intruded on by spies, so that he could not safely pray for the exiled king by name. He had to recur to the practice of his youth, and substitute for the forbidden names the words, "and all those that we are bound to pray for,"

[1] "His hours for chapel were six in the morning, twelve before dinner, three in the afternoon, and nine at night, at which times he was constantly present, and always dressed."—D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft," ii. 69.

"and so (directing the intention right) the Collect went on *sine latebris*."

Sancroft was a delightful letter-writer, shrewd, affectionate, and humorous. It is evident that his correspondence was a great pleasure to him, but it was carried on under difficulties. "At length, to my great joy, I have learnt how to send a letter to your Grace safely," writes Bishop Frampton, who was warmly attached to him. His own letters had to be sent under cover, lest the sight of his handwriting should arouse suspicion in the post-office. In case the letters, in spite of these precautions, should fall into wrong hands, names and phrases which might be dangerous were disguised. When Sancroft wishes to send money to the writers and printers of some nonjuring tracts, he desires it to be given "to the encouragement of the *Washball makers* and *Stocking sellers*." [1]

In spite of this interest in the "Washball makers,"

[1] Sancroft felt most strongly the harsh measures taken against the press. "To suppress our books, and oppress (instead of answering) those that write them, and to destroy the very press itself too, is like the very cruelty forbidden by Moses, to destroy not only the nest, and the young ones in the nest, but the dam also that sits upon them."—Dr. Williams' collection of original letters, quoted in "Ken's Life," by a Layman. The letters of Sancroft, given in this chapter, are all (unless otherwise stated) taken from the same source. The writer greatly regrets not having been able to see this very interesting collection.

Sancroft kept out of all plots against the existing Government. He refused an offer to gain over a friend in the post-office through whom he might correspond with the court of St. Germains, and he sent a message to James II. begging that "no Letters, or Messages, may be hazarded or lost upō me; and yet that he will be so gracious as to believe, y^{t} (having lost all else) I will sooner lose Life too, y^{n} quit my Loialty, or my Allegiance."

One thing only the archbishop desired to do before he was taken from the flock whom he had been called to rule. He wished to provide successors, who might be recognized as lawful by the nonjuring members of the Church, for the deprived bishops. On this point he had much consultation with Bishop Turner, who, of all his brethren, was most warmly attached to the cause of the exiled sovereign. Turner drew Sancroft's attention to a correspondence, preserved in the Library of St. John's College, Oxford, between the Lord Chancellor Clarendon and Dr. Barwick, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, on the best way of filling the vacancies in the Episcopate during the Great Rebellion, when the dispersion of the cathedral chapters rendered a canonical election impossible. It was then proposed to consecrate suffragans under the Act of Henry VIII. (still in force), and this plan would apparently have been carried out had not the Restoration happily brought the difficulty to an end.

To the aged Primate, constant to the political creed of his youth, the reign of the "Dutch usurper" was as much an interregnum as the Protectorate of Cromwell, and the true Church was once more represented by a persecuted remnant. In his own phrase, the two periods "were as like as one Cockatrice egg is to another." He desired to keep this remnant alive till better days should come, and at the same time to make no claim which might tend to perpetuate a schism. It seemed to him that the expedient of Clarendon might suit the present case, and that the appointment of suffragan bishops, claiming neither temporal rights nor territorial jurisdiction, would offer no hindrance to the future dealing of the division which rent the Church in two. There was the further advantage, that no election was needed to make such consecrations valid.

Lloyd, White, and Turner agreed with the archbishop. Frampton, content to lead a peaceful life in his retirement at Standish, seems to have held aloof from the discussion. But Ken dissented strongly. His head, by the testimony of his friend Fitzwilliam, was "as full of clear light as his heart of devout heat;" he saw how faint were the prospects of restoration and reunion on which the archbishop set his hopes; and sure though he was of his own position, he shrank from an indefinite prolongation of the struggle. "I had," he says, in a letter to

Dodwell in 1701, "a like desire with y^r selfe to put an end to y^e schisme, and they were zealous to transmit it to succession. I was for a long time vehemently solicited to lend my hand to it, but I always remonstrated against it, though I was at last fain to tolerate what I could not prevent, so y^t y^e controversy which, as you truly say, was to end with y^e living, is to be perpetuated, and 'tis my dissent in this instance which has raised a prejudice against me."[1]

It is sad to read of differences in this little band of saintly confessors, and to be reminded that—

> "Not Apostles' hands can clasp
> Each other in so firm a grasp
> But they shall change and variance prove."

The opinion of the majority prevailed, and Ken's protests brought on him suspicion and loneliness of heart, of which his letters show painful trace.

Lord Clarendon, who had acted as his father's secretary in the correspondence with Barwick, was taken into the bishops' confidence, and requested to communicate with the exiled king, whose sanction (from a Jacobite point of view) was necessary to the legality of their proceedings.

James was at first uncertain whether he, as a

[1] Bishop of Bath and Wells to H. Dodwell.—Dean Plumptre's "Life of Ken," ii. 114.

Roman Catholic, could properly nominate Anglican bishops; and he consulted Bossuet, the Archbishop of Paris, and the Pope himself, before his scruples on this point could be set at rest. It was decided by these authorities that since the Church of England was established by law, he was under no obligation of conscience to act against it, but rather to maintain and defend it as long as those acts were in force. In the loyalty of English Churchmen lay his best hope of regaining his crown, and he sent friendly messages to the bishops whom he had once tried to coerce. "You are to let the Bishop of Norwich kno from us," he says, "how much we are pleased with his zeal and faithfulness in our service, and assure him of our favour and return him our most hearty thanks;"[1] and in another letter, addressed to Lloyd and Hickes, he desires that the Nonjurors should send two of their number to him with all convenient speed, instructed by the Archbishop, to inform him of the number and names of the non-swearing clergy, and also "of the readiness they were in last year to have joined him, . . . and to bring assurances under the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's hand that they are in the same disposition still."[1]

Hickes was accordingly sent to St. Germains,

[1] From paper written by Lord Melfort, James's minister.—Macpherson, i. 455.

[2] Ibid., ii. 452.

travelling for more security by way of Holland. He carried with him a list of the nonjuring clergy, and probably other documents and loyal messages. James received him very graciously, expressed esteem for the deprived clergy, and said that he was very sensible that the greater part of the complying clergy still loved him. From the list submitted to him by Hickes, he chose two, Hickes himself, and Thomas Wagstaffe, formerly Rector of St. Margaret Pattens, and Chancellor of Lichfield.[1] Hickes was detained at Rotterdam by illness on his homeward journey, and did not return to England until February, 1694. On the 24th of that month, St. Matthias's Day, he was consecrated, together with Wagstaffe, by Bishops Lloyd, White, and Turner, at Bishop White's lodgings, in the house of a clergyman named Gifford, in Southgate, Hickes being appointed Suffragan of Thetford and Wagstaffe of Ipswich.

[1] Wagstaffe belonged to a good Warwickshire family; a near relation, Colonel Wagstaffe, retook the Close of Lichfield for the king during the Rebellion. He was educated at Charterhouse and New Inn, and is said by Hearne to have been "a very pious, worthy, and learned man." In the British Museum is a copy of the Sarum Ordinale, with notes by him, comparing it with the Antwerp edition, and going into minute particulars as to the consecration of fonts, the Offices for the Dead, etc. —*Note kindly communicated by the Rev. J. L. Fisk.*

Wagstaffe supported himself for many years by the practice of medicine, in which he was skilled, wearing always his clerical gown.—Nicholls, "Lit. Anecdotes," i. 35.

Lord Clarendon and a notary named Douglas alone witnessed the ceremony, which was kept so private that none but a few leading Nonjurors were aware that the number of their bishops had been increased, the new consecrations being only intended to guard against the danger of leaving the separated body without a chief pastor when the deprived bishops should have passed away.

Before Hickes returned from St. Germains, Sancroft's labours and trials were over. He seems to have exercised his episcopal office almost to the end.[1] He also gave much time, during the last months of his life, to preparing the diary and other papers of

[1] We may gather this from the following letter :—

"My Lord,

"I am desired by my mother-in-law, who is widow to the late Bishop Sparrow, humbly to request the favour of your Grace to confirm one of her grandchildren, being a daughter of my brother Long, a deprived clergyman, with whom I had the honour to wait on your Grace at Fresingfield soon after you came hither. Her father did not think her of sufficient age to be confirmed before this unhappy Revolution, and since there has not been an opportunity of having it done by a regular Bishop, and the being now come to 14 years of age, my mother is unwilling to have it deferred any longer, which puts me upon giving your Grace this trouble. I am

"Your Grace's most obedient servant,

"Wm. Glover.

"Aug. 7, 1693."

—Ballard MSS., 98.

his great predecessor, Archbishop Laud, for the press. This work, recommended to him by Sheldon, had been long in his mind, but during his busy years, first at the deanery of St. Paul's, and afterwards at Lambeth, he had no leisure for such a task. Now, in his retirement at Fresingfield, he set diligently to work, comparing, annotating, and arranging. "He was earnestly engaged in this business; the original and copy of Laud's diary, with many of the papers relating to it, lay before him on his writing-desk, and he was noting on a loose paper some queries and directions, when he was seized (on the 25th of August) with a violent fever. When he felt that he could not recover he sent for his former chaplain, Henry Wharton, and placed the diary and other papers in his hands. These precious manuscripts are now in the library of St. John's College, Oxford. On the cover of the diary the archbishop had written these words: "Archbishop Laud's Original Diary. Great Care is to be taken of it."[1]

The dying Primate then put his worldly affairs in order, and took a last farewell of his friends. "It touched my spirits extremely," writes Sir H. North, "to see the low estate of this poor old saint, and with what wonderful regard and humility he treated those who visited him, and who were not worthy to

[1] "Life of Archbishop Laud," by Rev. W. H. Hutton.

serve him, and particularly myself."[1] The Archbishop had now but one earthly concern remaining. He desired to give testimony to the end to the cause for which he had sacrificed so much.

"My lord," wrote one who visited him in these last days, "is sensible of how great a concernment it is who minister to him in holy things; he never receiveth the Sacrament but from those who come not at the parish and are Nonjurors. He never admits any of the irregular clergy to be at the holy offices. As for the rest, if they come when he goes to prayers, he excludes them not. This my lord dictated to me from his own mouth. . . . Mr. W.[2] has been with us once, and visited my lord solemnly. Mr. E.[3] hath been here often, and visited my lord very solemnly." The account is continued in the words of the archbishop himself: "He gave me the Absolution of the Church, and not long after, the Holy Sacrament. He comes often hither when it is reasonable, and performs the holy offices; at other times my s. [perhaps his steward, William Sancroft], who perfectly understands the Liturgy, useth as many prayers as it is fit for him to do, and we heartily implore God's mercy for the pardon of our defects and indecencies in the

[1] The account of the archbishop's last days is taken from D'Oyley's "Life of Sancroft," and the "Letter out of Suffolk."

[2] Wagstaffe (?).

[3] Mr. Edwards, deprived Vicar of Eye.

performance of His holy services, and hope that we are accepted."

There was no bitterness in Sancroft, though his convictions were strong. He took leave of Wharton with blessings and words of affection; and when his other chaplain, Needham, came to visit him, he said, "You and I have gone different ways in these late affairs, but I trust Heaven's gates are wide enough to admit us both. . . . What I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart, indeed in the great integrity of my heart." "He was," said Needham afterwards, "the most pious, humble, good Christian I ever knew in all my life."

On the day before the Archbishop fell asleep, another old friend, Dr. Trumbull, came to him, and from his hand he received the Viaticum. An hour before his death he prayed for the king, queen, and Prince of Wales, and that God "would bless and preserve His poor, suffering Church, which by this Revolution is almost destroyed." He then asked for a Prayer-book, and himself turned to the Commendatory Prayer, which he desired might be read. "That being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his departure; he put his hands and arms down both his sides, and in a manner laid himself out, and would have his head laid lower, and with great willingness and cheerfulness submitted himself to the Stroak of Death."

He died on the 24th of November, 1693, in his seventy-eighth year, and was buried in the Churchyard of Fresingfield, under the southern wall of the Church, in a spot which he had chosen sixteen years earlier.

"His humble grave
Set with green herbs, glad hopes and brave."

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1693-1695.

KETTLEWELL'S LATER WORKS—PLAN FOR RELIEVING THE NEEDS OF THE DEPRIVED CLERGY — TRIAL OF COLLIER AND OTHERS FOR GIVING ABSOLUTION TO CONDEMNED JACOBITES—BISHOPS SUMMONED BEFORE PRIVY COUNCIL ON CHARGE OF COLLECTING SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR DEPRIVED CLERGY.

"Since that popular billow o'er thee past,
Which thine own Ken from out the vineyard cast,
. . . . . .
An altered mien thy holy aspect wears."

Lyra Apostolica.

WHILE that modern England which began with the Revolution, moved steadily forward like the central stream of some divided river, which spreads so wide in the sunshine that its diminished volume is not at first perceptible, though it has been robbed of half its strength by the parting of the waters; the nonjuring party, which must be allowed, even by those who differ most widely from its principles, to represent many of the finer elements of national life, passed

into obscurity. It must have been with a strange mixture of feelings that men who had long been leaders in the Church's restoration found themselves stranded in still pools and backwaters, with nothing to do but to wait and watch the progress of events which they could no longer control.

To those of the clergy who remained in London, the aspect of the familiar streets must have been a continual reminder of the active life which they had ceased to share. As they passed to and fro, always under suspicion, frequently liable to arrest, and compelled to adopt some lay disguise, they saw the glistening towers of Wren's new churches rising daily. Only a year or two earlier they had watched the growth of those clustered spires with a proud sense of ownership; now, from the fair houses of God, from all the stirring work of which they were the symbol and centre, they were, by their own act, shut out. How often, on their way to the humble oratories in which they carried on a worship bare of all but the most essential accessories, they must have gazed with longing eyes on the crowds who poured through those great porticoes, fresh from the builder's hand, the pride and glory of London!

Cut off from preaching and from parochial work, they betook themselves to study and to writing, and at first, as was natural in the circumstances, their pens were chiefly employed in controversy.

Kettlewell's earliest employment in his new home was to draw up a treatise on "Christian Communion" in times of division and difficulty. In this work he treats of schism, and of "immoral prayers," on the lines of his "Letter to Mr. S.,"[1] but at much greater length. The style, heavily laden with learned allusions and unrelieved by any touch of poetry or humour, is highly discouraging to modern readers, but our ancestors were more patient in these matters, and the book, which was published anonymously in 1693, made a distinct mark. Kettlewell had "a soft manner of conducting controversy" (which his biographer ascribes to the influence of Nelson), and was unwilling to press the views of his party to their extremest point. He repeated in this work what he had said to "Mr. S." Necessity of united worship and ministerial offices would justify men in joining in schismatical worship, or in attending services in which "immoral prayers" were used, where none other could be had. This view drew on him some reproof from his more vehement friends (the draught of an answer to their strictures, which he wrote, but never published, is still in existence[2]); but when, a few years later, the division was partially healed, the treatise on "Christian Communion" was among the influences which made for peace.[3]

[1] See Chap. X. [2] In the Bodleian.

[3] This is probably the work which was submitted to

His next publication was the "Companion to the Persecuted," which had grown up out of the prayers composed by him for his own use during his last years at Coleshill. Nothing could be found less like the cumbrous style of his didactic and controversial writings than these prayers, in which all is simple, direct, full of natural feeling. The language which Kettlewell uses in instruction, is a dialect laboriously acquired; when he pours out his soul before God, he is speaking his native tongue. The prayers for those who are "to die for Righteousness" carry to our minds a lively sense of the uncertainty of life in that troubled

Archbishop Sancroft in manuscript, and of which he wrote to Lloyd, "I have long esteemed Mr. K. [Kettlewell] a very good and pious practical divine: but this last treatise, and what he wrote formerly against Julian Johnson [1] about Passive Obedience, shew him to be also a very learned man, very well read both in ye Roman and Ecclesiastical History. 'Tis a great inconvenience yt 'tis not better copied . . . but 'tis a greater inconvenience yt we having so few champions on our side in this controversy, they should differ among themselves, and not proceed upo' ye same Hypotheses. It were to be wished that . . . they might be accorded, at least in all points of moment. . . . I desire you kindly to salute the author in my name, when you see him, and to assure him of my most cordial love and esteem: and to accept yourself of my most hearty thanks for ye opportunity you give me of perusing these most excellent discourses."—Williams MSS. quoted in "Life of Ken."

[1] Samuel Johnson, author of "Julian."

century during which so many noble victims perished on the scaffold.

In the same year, Kettlewell brought out his best-remembered book, the "Companion to the Penitent," with a dedication to the parishioners of Coleshill. "Though by God's providence, which most wisely orders all things," he says in the letter prefixed to the early editions, "I now live at a great distance from you, yet I still retain a pastoral affection for you, and ordinarily remember you in my prayers, and have a Heart that is truly desirous to serve you in the great work of your souls. . . . Since I am out of the way of serving you otherwise, I have sent this companion among you to minister to your most serious and holy thoughts, and to direct and go before you both in your prayers and your practice. . . . Learn habitually to breathe these thoughts and daily live by them." The book consists of devotions for the penitent and the troubled in mind, with questions to be used either in self-examination or by the "Guide of Souls," and forms of confession and absolution taken from the Communion Office, and that for the Visitation of the Sick. It was much valued and used. Archbishop Wake writes in 1708 that "it is certainly some defect, I do not say in our Comon pr. book, least Dr. South should hear me, but in our establishment, y^{t} we have not some offices published by authority for the Visitation of the Sick. There was a little

book printed by Mr. Sare and written by Mr. Kettlewell, which I was wont to use on such occasions, together with Bp. Taylour's offices;" and the same two books are recommended for use by Mr. Keble in a letter written almost a century and a half later.

Before this last work was in print, Kettlewell's health had become seriously affected. The consumptive tendency, which had been overcome in his childhood by his mother's tender nursing, again showed itself, and was no doubt aggravated by the change from the fresh country air to a small house in a close street, and by overwork. During these last years Kettlewell studied and wrote with the feverish energy which is a common note of consumption, and allowed himself no time for recreation. He had almost entirely dropped the practice of music, since Lord Digby's death had deprived him of a fellow-student; and the daily walks, which were his chief refreshment at Coleshill, had not charm enough in London to wile him from his desk. His latest work, "Death made Comfortable," is the outcome of his own experience during the months that he spent in preparation for the end. "I was desirous," he says in the preface, "to have some benefit and help thereof myself while I live, as well as to leave it to be some way helpful to others." A book for the dying, written by one who is himself engaged in fitting his soul for its last journey, cannot but have a deep interest. Perhaps

the point which most distinguishes it from other manuals composed with the same object, is the wide sympathy which it shows in its detailed mention of the manifold forms of human trial. Thus there are prayers for the deaf, that they may have "a hearing heart, that is never deaf to the call of God;" for the blind, that they may remember that to know Him is "to see with Angels' eyes;" for the mentally afflicted, that, like helpless children, they may be the special charge of Angels; for those who die childless, that though among men they be quite forgotten, they may be graciously received of God when He reckons up the numbers of His children.

This was the last work put forth by Kettlewell; but he left behind him an Office for Prisoners for Crime, and another for Prisoners for Debt, which were published by his friend Robert Nelson after his death.[1]

But the book through which Kettlewell's mind and principles told most widely, and with a remarkable power, is not from his own pen. To the present generation, the "Fasts and Festivals" of Robert Nelson is almost unknown, and its catechetical

[1] The miserable state of gaols had already begun to attract the attention of charitable persons, and on the foundation of the S.P.C.K., Bishop Compton recommended the moral and religious condition of prisoners to their consideration. Kettlewell's Office for Prisoners was among the books which the society distributed.—See Secretan's "Life of Nelson," p. 102.

form and old-fashioned phraseology do not commend it to modern taste, but some can still remember valuable lessons taught from its pages in years not long gone by. When first published its success was instantaneous, and in the course of five years more than ten thousand copies—an enormous number for that time—were printed; its popularity continued for many years unabated, and probably did much to keep alive a knowledge of Church doctrine and practice through the century which followed its publication.[1] "Sir,"

[1] No more interesting glimpse of the use made of this book as an aid to devotion, can be found than that given by Ambrose Bonwicke, the Nonjuror, in his most touching account of the death of his son, an undergraduate at St. John's, Cambridge. On the morning of Ascension Day, 1714, the young man was missed from his accustomed place in the college chapel, and a friend went in search of him. "Going up and forcing his study door, he found him sitting in his chair, cold and stiff, and so leaning back that the chair lay against the door, his candle by him unlighted (as was supposed) that he might be the more retired and undisturbed; his Officium Eucharisticum open before him, with a paper in containing the abstract of that week, from Sunday morning to the end of that day, Wednesday; his Nelson, Common-Prayer book, and others lying by it. Thus he whose lamp was always burning, had by the good providence of God now trimmed it, ready for the approach of the Bridegroom. . . . By his constant regular reading of Nelson he was at this time more especially prepared for his dissolution. . . . He had left papers in three several places in his Nelson, which shewed what parts he had last made use of; his first was at the prayers for Trinity Sunday, the second in the preparation for death on Easter Eve, and the third in the examination of himself on all

said Johnson to Boswell in 1776, "the holidays observed in our Church are of great use in religion. . . . The excellent Mr. Nelson's 'Festivals and Fasts,' which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed in England except the Bible, is a most valuable help to devotion."

The origin of this much-prized book is thus described by Nelson's intimate friend Francis Lee. "Mr. Nelson would always ask Mr. Kettlewell's advice on everything of moment that he set about, and would unbosom himself to him in the nicest and most difficult emergencies of life, that he might be directed by him; such an opinion had he of his wisdom, as well as his integrity, in all that could be put to him. This sacred friendship failed not to put forth some considerable fruits both in the one and the other of them. For Mr. Nelson did very much encourage Mr. Kettlewell to proceed in that soft and gentle manner wherein he excelled, of managing the matter in controversy. And on the other hand, Mr. Kettlewell was, to the utmost of his power, serviceable to Mr. Nelson, in whatever he could propose to him; but more particularly in

Fridays in the year. That he had finished his sacramental preparation according to the method of the Officium, may be gathered from his having consecrated as it appeared he had, and set apart what he designed for the offertory of the next day, which is one of the last things to be done according to that book, that charity may crown the devotions of the day."—"Life of Ambrose Bonwicke," by his father, ed. by Rev. J. E. B. Mayor.

stirring him up to exert himself generously for God, and to write for the honour of religion; which he thought might do much more good, as coming from a lay-gentleman than it would from a professed clergyman. And it is indeed to Mr. Kettlewell that we chiefly owe his first setting about his "Companion for the Feasts and Fasts of the Church," as I remember to have heard from his own mouth, as also the putting it into that method wherein it is. And in the manner of publishing it he told me that he followed Mr. Kettlewell's directions altogether, whose wisdom herein he much commended. And were it for nothing else than what this learned and religious gentleman did in the service of the Church, and for the public acts and methods of charity which he recommended to him, Kettlewell's memory ought to be ever precious to the Church of England for the sake of Nelson, had he even not left so much as one page of his own writing to be known by."[1]

Another matter very near to Kettlewell's heart during the last year of his life was the destitute condition of the nonjuring clergy. The following letter, addressed to Sir William Boothby, of Ashbourne Hall, Derbyshire, relates to this subject:—

"HONRD SIR,

"I received your very obliging letter, and had the 2 guineas of your carrier, who paid em to my

[1] "Life of Kettlewell," pp. 435, 436.

servant, for which I return you my very humble and hearty thanks. My little book [1] was not finished to send down by him, and indeed I thought next Saturday had been his day, but I hope to have it ready against the next time. I heartily thank you, and God I hope wil remember and recompense you for your kind offer of contributions to the support of some of the poor suffering clergy.

"Many need both in city and country. But if you please to consider him, I recommend the Bp. of Kilmore to you, who day by day receives his bread from God by the hands of good people, and who is himself sickly, and has a sickly family. I heartily pray for you, and heartily thank you for your good prayers and for all your favours, and remain,

"Hon^rd Sir, your very faithful and
"Obliged friend and hum. serv^t,
"J. KETTLEWELL.[2]

"Lond., Dec. 4, '94."

In a letter written shortly after to Bishop Lloyd, Kettlewell urges the formation of a fund for the assistance of the deprived clergy under the authority of the bishops :—

[1] "Death made Comfortable."
[2] From a copy in the Bodleian, Eng. hist. d. 137.

"Dec. 20, 1694.

"My Lord,

"I herewith present a small book to your Lordship, consisting of thoughts which have been much my study and employment under mine infirmities, and are fit to be soe still; and which I hope may be of use to others, when they come, as sooner or later all must expect to come, into a state of decay and weakness, not to add alsoe in their best state of health.

"When my Lord Bp. of B. and W^lls in great kindness and charitie was pleased last to call here, I was proposing to him the setting up a Fund of Charity, for regular collection and distribution of the same among the poor suffering clergy. I told him the goodwill you bore to it, only some difficulties seemed to you therein, which I hoped might be removed. If he has seen your Lordship since, I believe you had discourse upon it. Were this fund for the soldiery (tho' God knows enow of them have need[1]) it may be some might fancy they could with better colour charge it as a listing of men. But being only for the clergy's relief, and their needs being notorious, methinks let them trouble whom they will, they cannot hurt them. . . .

"In subscribing your names and Titles, in any

[1] The officers deprived of their commissions for refusing the oath. Bishop Ken, in his will, leaves a legacy for "the Deprived Officers" as well as for deprived clergy.

papers to recommend the same, and stir up Charity, methinks it would neither prejudice you, nor could offend them, if you write yourselves with an Epithete, noteing, not the justice on one side or the other, but only the actual suffering and force you are under, as *Suffering*, *Displaced*, *Ejected*, *Deprived*, or what word you shall think more proper, added to Bishops, when you subscribe yourselves.

"I shall only add that if upon your wise and mature consideration your Lordship and y^r^ Brethren the B^pps^ shall think this a feasible, as you will think it otherwise a good design, and for this regular provision like to go on, I have a friend who authorises me to say he will give a hundred Pounds himself towards the beginning of the Fund, and I know he will moreover get as much of others towards the same as he can.

"Being laid up by my infirmities this winter, and soe uncapable of waiting on you to speak these things to your L^p^ myself, I here presume with humble submission to write them. Wherein if your L^p^ perceive me to be wrong, your goodness will allow the honesty of my zele for soe good a thing to expiate my mistakes about the ways of its promotion.

"I humbly beg your blessing, and remain,

"My hon^rd^ Lord,

"Y^r^ L^ps^ faithful humble serv^t^,

"J. KETTLEWELL."[1]

[1] Printed in the "Life of Ken," by a Layman (Anderdon).

Before the plan of the fund was completely arranged, Kettlewell had passed beyond the reach of controversy or trouble, but this seems the most suitable place in which to give a short account of the result of his last efforts for the good of his brethren. In July, 1695, the bishops issued a circular letter, which was generously responded to both by the wealthier Nonjurors, and by many who sympathized without on all points agreeing with them. Lord Weymouth was a large contributor, so was Lady Gainsborough, mother of the two Lady Digbys. A volume of receipts from those who benefited by the fund is preserved in the Bodleian,[1] and the gratitude expressed for small gifts, on the part of men who a few years earlier had been in possession of comfortable benefices, is sometimes touching. James Daillon, formerly Vicar of Langley, receives two guineas "with hearty thanks;" and one Mr. Bryan another small sum, "the gift of an unknown benefactor, whom God preserve." One of these entries is interesting for the sake of the giver's name. J. Fitzgerald acknowledges the receipt of two guineas from Mr. Samuel Keble "out of such monies as are designed for the silenced clergie."

The Government suffered these charitable contributions to pass unnoticed until the spring of 1696, when a plot for the assassination of King William was discovered, for which Sir John Friend and Sir William

[1] Add. c. 268.

Perkins were tried and executed. Perkins, while in Newgate, sent for a nonjuring priest, Jeremy Collier, opened his mind to him, and begged that he might receive absolution before his death. When Collier would have visited him again for this purpose, he was refused admission to the prison. He came, therefore, to the place of execution, accompanied by two of his brethren, Cook and Snatt, and on the scaffold absolved the dying man. For this proceeding, the three priests were publicly reprimanded in a declaration issued by the two archbishops and ten bishops; which stated that their manner of giving absolution (*i.e.* by imposition of hands, and publicly) was "extremely insolent and without precedent;" that the criminals had made no confession, and that if the three clergy were aware of their sentiments, they must have viewed them either as hardened impenitents (which was not to be supposed possible) or as martyrs. This censure was followed up by an indictment before the Court of King's Bench for treasonable practices. Cook and Snatt were committed to Newgate, Jeremy Collier succeeded in concealing himself; after a time the former were released on bail, but Collier refused to give security, lest by so doing he should seem to acknowledge the Government, and was outlawed in consequence. From his hiding-place he put forth two papers in vindication of his conduct and that of his friends. In these papers he states that "when a man

hath declared his sorrow for his faults, the Absolution was not to be denied." He then comes to the imposition of hands, arguing for it as an innocent and an ancient ceremony. Others, he says, are shocked at the thing itself, and he asks, "Are all people damned that are cast in a capital indictment? If so, to what purpose are they visited by Divines?"[1]

The Government was not content with the outlawry of Collier. It is impossible that the ministers could have suspected the deprived bishops of any sympathy with attempts at murder, or of misusing for political ends the money collected for the relief of clerical distress; but ten days after the execution of Friend and Perkins, a warrant was issued for the apprehension of Lloyd, Ken, White, Turner, and Frampton, and they were charged before the Privy Council with treasonable practices.[2]

When the day of their examination arrived, the venerable bishops, who eight years earlier had been the most admired and popular men in England, were

[1] Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," pp. 168–177. Bishop Sanderson received his last absolution from his chaplain with imposition of hands, "and at the performing of that office he pulled off his cap that Mr. Pullin might lay his hand upon his bare head."—"Hist. Nonjurors," p. 176.

[2] The author of the "Life of Frampton" says that more than two thousand warrants were issued. "Every man of note that did not comply with the Government was supposed to be engaged in the same" (*i.e.* the assassination plot).

treated with scant courtesy. Ken was suffered to attend three times in the anteroom before he was called in, and Frampton stood waiting among "people of mean rank" while Archbishop Tenison swept past him without notice. When at last they were admitted to the council chamber, the assembly sat for some minutes in silence, embarrassed, it may be supposed, by the task which they had undertaken. Bishop Frampton came to the rescue of his accusers. "My Lords," he said, "though an inoffensive man, I am here in obedience to your order, brought as a criminal; I humbly desire to be charged, and do not doubt by God's grace to prove myself innocent. There hath been of late an assassination designed, as hath been in evidence, I presume, before your Lordships; there hath been some suspicion of an invasion from abroad. Is it either of these I am accused of? if so, I hope to acquit myself before your Lordship in both respects." The archbishop replied that he was accused of neither of these, but of encouraging the enemies of the Government, "and by printed letters missive collecting money, which is contrary to law." "I am glad, my Lords," returned Frampton, "that charity, which I have long exercised, is my greatest crime." [1]

Bishop Ken was shown a copy of the bishops' circular, and asked if he had subscribed it. "I thank God I did," he answered. "And it had a very happy

[1] "Life of R. Frampton," pp. 197, 198.

effect. For the will of our blessed Redeemer was fulfilled by it; and what we were not able to do ourselves, was done by others; the hungry were fed, and the naked were cloathed; and to feed the hungry, to cloathe the naked, and to visit those who are sick or in prison, is that plea which all your Lordships as well as I, as far as you have had opportunities, must make for yourselves at the great day. And that which you must all plead at God's tribunal, for your eternal Absolution, shall not, I hope, be made my condemnation here."

"No one condemns charity," he was told, "but the way you have taken to procure it; your paper is illegal."

"I am well assured that it is legal," said Ken, boldly. "The first person who proposed it to me was Mr. Kettlewell, that holy man who is now with God, and after some time it was brought to this form, and I subscribed it. . . . I live above the suspicion of giving umbrage to the Government."

The council then complained that the money was given to "ill and criminal men," "and particularly to one who goes in a gown one day and a blue silk waistcoat another."[1] Ken allowed that "to give to an ill man may be a mistake," but that if he wants the

[1] "Yet, after all, the poor man's great crime was changing his name and altering his habit, to avoid a gaol the expenses of which he could not bear."—"Life of R. Frampton," p. 199.

necessaries of life, "as long as God indulges that ill man's life to lead him to repentance, we ought to support that life God indulges him," and further pleaded that he supplied the wants of many "ill men" imprisoned for their share in Monmouth's rebellion, and that King James had never found fault with him for so doing.[1]

For nearly a month after this examination the bishops were detained in custody, but were then suffered to depart without further molestation.

[1] From "The Answer of Thomas Bath and Wells, deprived, to certain Interrogatories," printed at length in Dean Plumptre's "Life of Ken."

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1694–1695.

LAST ILLNESS AND DEATH OF KETTLEWELL—HIS WIFE—LIST OF HIS WORKS.

"All human succours now are flown,
And I await my dying groan;
My soul is parting from this earthly vale,
Into the state invisible to sail.

"I my Viaticum received,
And that my ghostly strength retrieved;
'Tis by repentance only I am eased,
And Jesus' Love, Who angry God appeased.

"To God I have my will resigned,
To God I elevate my mind;
My ghostly guide has me absolved, and I
Have nought to do, but pray, and love, and die."

BISHOP KEN.

KETTLEWELL's illness was soothed by the kindness of many friends. In the spring of 1694 he was the guest of Colonel Grahme, at Bagshot Park, a name familiar to readers of Evelyn's "Diary."

"The weather has been so cold since I came to this

pleasant place," he wrote on May 26 to an unknown correspondent, "that I have kept much in, and Durst not take the Pleasure of it, and when I would be more ventrous, have taken cold several times. But now it looks as if we were fixing in for a warmer season. The good lady here, to whom I delivered your message, and who is your kind Friend, has had a fit of the Rheumatism; it is upon her still, but she hopes it is going off, as God grant it may. By her Patience she makes it much easyer both to herself and others. The Collonel [1] is returned from the north this day. I heartily wish you your health and all things else that may be truly a blessing to you, and I remain, S^ir,

"Your very faithfull and
"Affect. fr^d & serv^t,
"J. K." [2]

[1] Probably from his family seat, Levens Hall, in Westmoreland. Colonel Grahme was an adherent of James II. It was he who sent the king money to effect his escape, and provided the farewell gifts which James desired to make to his servants. His elder brother, Lord Preston, was attainted in 1690, and condemned to death, but subsequently pardoned. Colonel Grahme himself, though in constant correspondence with leading Jacobites, and twice arrested on suspicion, never was brought to trial. From a passage in Macpherson's papers it seems that, like too many of the politicians of that corrupt time, he was suspected of trying to keep straight with both sides.

[2] Rawl. MSS. D. 373. Kettlewell begins with thanking his correspondent for his "Kindness and great Fidelity" in some

This "good lady" is the Doll Howard of Lady Russell's letters (who thinks her much too good for "Mr. Grarm"), the favourite companion of Margaret Godolphin, when the two young maids of honour lived their holy lives in the court of Charles II., and, like her, a friend of John Evelyn, who tells us that she was "not only a great beauty, but a most virtuous and excellent creature."

In June Kettlewell was still at Bagshot, together with his wife, taking care of the young Grahmes during their mother's absence in town, and enjoying the warmer weather, which brought some temporary improvement in his health. The following letter is addressed to the absent mistress of the house:—

"These For the Honble Mrs. Grahme,
"At Mr. James's House in Berkly Street,
"Near Pickadilly in London.

"MADAM,

"I hope you have pretty well got thro' your Busyness and markettings by this time, and that now your Friends may write to you without being troublesom. Your Family here, are in good Health, praised be God; and we live in Hopes of Having Pleasing things to say of Pretty Misses when you come to us.

"busyness" of which the nature is not explained; and the letter, which is without address, was probably sent by hand to some nonjuring friend whose correspondence was not safe in the post-office.

God Almighty order all things about them, and about all yours, to their good, and your comfort; and may the same infinite Goodness, which preserves their Bodyes, Direct in all things and govern their mindes, that with the Blessing of Health, they may always injoy the much Greater Blessing of innocence and of His Peace. Your Good Niece is preparing to leave us by the first convenience in obedience to her Father's summons: she is a very ingenious young Lady, and very impressible to good things, and well-disposed; I have been much pleased to hear her say many things, which shew a good Heart, and might well befit a much older Head than hers; and I hope the Blessing of God will accompany her, wheresoever she goes.

"All your children here, give their duty to you both. Your Niece and my Wife send their Hearty and humble Service to yourself, and Pray give both theirs and mine to the Collonel. We can add nothing else but our good wishes, but we have enough of them, that he may see a happy end both of his own Busyness and of his Friends; and after such a tryal of Patience as he sees fit, I hope in God's good time he will see it of both. Mr. Appleford is your humble servant and his, and we are all my Lady Sylvius's.[1] My wife and I must not omit the Good

[1] Mrs. Grahme's sister, married to Sir Gabriel Silvius.

D. and his Lady,[1] if you see them before your Return, as 'tis like you may.

"As to myself, I Bless God I am pretty well, and I hope He will Bless you for it. But whatever effects your kindness and this sweet Place have on my Health, I hope and humbly Beseech Him that it may be of good effect towards your eternal Recompense, and that in the Day of His Mercy He will Remember it to your Advantage, soe that you may not finally miss of the Reward of your offices of love, tho' by His wise ordering I shoulde miss of my Recovery.

"God send all your Busyness well over, and both of you safe back hither. I remain, madam,

"Yo^r very much obliged, and

"Most faithfull humble serv^t,

"J. KETTLEWELL.[2]

"Jun. 10, '94."

The improvement of which Kettlewell speaks in this letter did not last, and when the autumn fogs began, he soon grew too ill to leave the house. "I

[1] Probably Dean Hickes and his wife, who was "a most faithful and cheerful fellow-sufferer" with him for fourteen years.

[2] For this letter the writer is indebted to the kindness of Captain Bagot, M.P., the present owner of Levens Hall. In the Library at Levens is a book which belonged to one of the "Pretty Misses" above mentioned, containing the inscription "Mary Grahme, this book left me by Mr. Kettlewell as a legacy."

visited him very often," writes Nelson, "because I found it grateful to him, not that but I was very desirous too, being very sensible how short a time I was to enjoy so advantagious a conversation." Bishop Ken was also a frequent visitor; Hickes, an older and closer friend than either Ken or Nelson, was unwillingly kept at a distance, unable to shew himself in town for fear of arrest, but Kettlewell had often the comfort of seeing his sister, Mr. Danvil, and her children, in whom he took great interest.

He was ministered to throughout his illness by Thomas Bell, formerly minister of Ascham in Westmoreland, who came twice daily to read the prayers of the Church with him, when he became too weak to do so for himself, and frequently administered to him the Blessed Sacrament.

When Nelson "once insinuated that the service was too long for him, it being impossible that his attention under his circumstances should be able to keep pace with it; 'It is true,' said he, 'I am subject to much more Wanderings than ordinary, but I thank GOD it doth not trouble me, because when GOD taketh away my spirits, He will not require the service of them,' and however ill he might be, he would allow no part to be omitted.

"The whole course of his illness was a constant Trimming of his Lamp, as both those who were about

him and those who then visited him, do unanimously declare."

He set his affairs in order with deliberate care, assisted by the advice of Nelson, and gave much thought and pains to the scheme (mentioned in the preceding chapter) for assisting the destitute clergy. It was one of his latest earthly pleasures to hear that his plan would be carried out.

These things done, he gave himself wholly up to preparation for the end. "Considering that his time was now short, he thought it of absolute necessity to be as provident of it as he could." And as far as he was able, without actual unkindness, he avoided the too numerous visits of his friends, saying that he wanted to spend the days that remained "in devotion and in packing up for his removal."

Nelson, in a letter to the absent Hickes, describes the tone of Kettlewell's mind during these months of pain and weariness.

"He had an entire trust and confidence in GOD, and would often say that GOD was able if He thought fit to restore him to his Health again, notwithstanding his great weakness, and that his Medicines seemed to give him no encouragement; but that according to appearances his Distemper was likely to end in his Death. But as to the issues of Life and Death he referred it wholly to GOD, Who knew what was best for him. He appeared to me

neither desirous of Life, nor afraid of Dying, but wholly resigned his Will to the Will of GOD; and notwithstanding the well-grounded and Comfortable Hopes he had of a Blessed Immortality, he never wished to have his pains shortened, nor the time of Dissolution hastened, but was entirely resigned to what Providence should determine.

"I was once enquiring into some particulars of his past life, with a Design of getting Materials towards the assistance of such as should undertake to Write it. He, apprehending what I drove at, said to me, 'Mr. Nelson, it matters not that the World should be acquainted with the particulars of my Life; they will be all laid open at the Day of Judgement, and then 'twill be time enough to have them known.'

"He carried himself with great decency to those that attended him; his Wife never did the least thing for him but he returned her thanks, as he did likewise upon several occasions to his Servant that was always about him; which was a great Mastery in such a Languishing Distemper, to overcome that peevishness which ordinarily attends it.

"I never found him in a murmuring Complaining Temper, but when he was worst he would always find out some favourable Circumstances for which he would thank GOD; if he had not Slept, he would thank GOD that he had lain quiet and not been restless; if he had coughed much, he would thank

God he had had refreshing Sleeps between his fits of Coughing. He would always make the best of what he suffered, and was thankful that it was not worse, so far from being discontented that 'twas so bad. He gave as little Trouble as he could, and would suffer nobody to watch with him, till a night or two before he died. . . .

"He preserved great Charity for those that *differed* from him; he would often say he did not care to speak of People's *Persons*, and though he would freely condemn such and such Practices, he was more reserved in Answering those that did them. He knew a great deal of good of many Men, whose Conduct he was not satisfied with upon this Revolution. . . . He approved not of that *Bitterness* and *Heat* of Temper which he met with in some of his *Deprived* Brethren: for Sufferings being apt of their own Nature to sharpen Men's Minds, he thought Men ought to be particularly on the guard against it, as the Peculiar Temptation that attended their Circumstances; and would often say, *that a Christian demeanour under Sufferings was as necessary as a good cause to render them acceptable to God.*"[1]

In March, "perceiving a very Sensible Decay of his Spirits, and that his Change could not be at a great distance off," he desired to leave behind him a

[1] Nelson to Hickes, "Life of Kettlewell," pp. 448–452.

solemn testimony "of what, upon summing up the whole, his Death-bed thoughts had been."

He prepared a paper in which he set forth his steadfast adherence to the faith, worship, and communion of the Church of England, and he further declared his belief that it was "on many great and dreadful accounts" his bounden duty to act as he had done in the matter of the Oath of Allegiance. "In this most sorrowful breach of Church-Society," he writes, "I profess that as I have hitherto done, so I do still Heartily and Firmly Embrace and Continue in the *Communion of those Orthodox and Rightful Bishops, and the Clergy and People adhering unto them, who have suffered*, as I believe, for their stedfastness to the *Rules of Righteousness*, in the Refusal of this *New Oath*, and who keep their Divine offices and Ministrations free from *all* those things, which my Conscience kicks at in the same; being now about to receive the Benefit of Absolution, and the Blessed Eucharist, from the Hands of one of them. I heartily and earnestly pray for the Cure of this *most great and grievous Breach.* And, whensoever the time of *Healing* shall come, the LORD, who purchased his Church with his Own Blood, put the work of healing and Reunion into Wise and Good Hands, who, without Passions, or Personal Prejudices, or any regard to past Wrong, or Private Interests, shall Faithfully, and unbyassedly, Pursue the Blessed Work of *Christian*

Union: And be willing and glad to see those Truths which make for Unity, and will have nothing else in their eyes, but how to Re-settle this Poor broken Church in *Truth*, *Purity*, *Unity*, and *Peace*."[1]

On the 23rd of March, Bishop Lloyd came to him, and having first absolved him, celebrated the Holy Eucharist, which he received as the "Viaticum or Provision by the way, to strengthen and support his spirit, and keep him from faintness or failures through the remainder of his difficult and wearisome passage."[2] Mrs. Kettlewell, Wagstaffe, Spinckes, Bradley, and Dr. Thomas Smith communicated with him; and before them all, he read his Declaration and then laid it on the Altar.

He had still nearly three weeks to live, which he spent "in a most close attendance upon that Greatest of Works, which was the preparation of his Passage." On the day before his death, Nelson came to see him for the last time. Kettlewell thanked him for his friendship, and then spoke of his wife. "She could not, he feared, expect the same." Nelson answered with an assurance that he would always treat her as the widow of one "whom he greatly esteemed and dearly loved." "Some little time after," Nelson continues, in the account which he wrote for the absent Hickes, "he turned to me as I sat by his Bedside,

[1] This declaration is given in full in the "Life," pp. 439–444.

[2] "Death made Comfortable."

and in a Voice which I could hardly hear, said, *Mr. Nelson, 'tis Brave to go to a Place where we can enjoy a Friend, without fear of losing him; where everything is Agreeable, because neither Sin nor Sorrow enter; where there needs no Sun to shine, forasmuch as* GOD *is the Light of that Place, and every Saint is a Star, each one's Bliss is felt by every Blessed Inhabitant, and Happiness is dispensed by a Blessed Circulation.* He added something more about the New *Jerusalem*, and the Heavenly State, which I lost by the Lowness of his Voice and his Difficulty in Speaking. The same Afternoon he desired his Wife to read to him out of his Book of *Death*, which she did at Two several Times; at which he was extraordinary Devout, and very Thankful to her, according to his usual Custom, for her Assistance. After this he called her to him, and said, *Child, trust* GOD *with thyself; I trust Him with thee freely.* GOD'S *Providence is the best Protection; and there is no such way to engage His good Providence, as by trusting Him.* Some time the same afternoon, she asked him how he did; he answered her, *Very Praiseworthy well, I thank* GOD, *for one near departing.*"

On the following morning, April 11, 1695, feeling that the end was come, he sent for Mr. Bell, who had ministered to him throughout his sickness. Mr. Bell found him sitting up, with that apparent revival which often precedes death. "Mr. Bell," he said as the

priest entered, "I am now entering upon my last Labour; the *Lord gave*, and He is now taking away, blessed be the Name of the Lord: for I thank my GOD I am going (without any Distrust, without the least Misgiving) to a Place of Rest, and Joy, and Everlasting Bliss. *There is no Life like a happy Death.* I have endeavoured, even from my youth, to approve myself a faithful servant of my *Great Master.*" He went on to speak of the books which he had written, and looking on his wife and sister, and others who were standing by, begged that they would read them often, and practice what they contained, as he had tried to do; after which he made the following prayer: "I wait, O GOD, for that Everlasting Rest, which I want at present but shall not long: I am ready when Thou, my GOD, callest for me; yet I can stay with patience until Thou pleasest; for Thy time is the best time, and Thy pleasure the best pleasure."

Mr. Bell then read some of the prayers of the Church, and, at Kettlewell's request, the Commendatory Prayer. When he had ended, the dying man turned to his nephew, John Danvil, a boy of fifteen, of whose education he had taken charge, and earnestly begged him to observe all the commandments of God; "for he that breaks one breaks all." "Have a perfect dependance upon GOD," he went on, "for He is a kind, merciful, and a good GOD; I have found

Him to be so." And then, with special emphasis, "*Do not tell a lie, no, not to save a world, not to save your king, nor yourself.*"

Mr. Bell is the chronicler of these last hours. "Next," he wrote in his letter to Nelson, from which these details are taken, "he gave his Sister some Directions of the like Nature, and how to teach and instruct her children. His Brother[1] being come, he told him wherein he had given him offence; forgave him heartily, and prayed for him and his; then he told him he was to let him have a set of his books, I think for Lincoln College, Oxon. Then he said, 'Brother, have I done you any Wrong, tell me, for if I have, I am ready and willing to make compensation.' Being answered, 'No,' he put the same question to Mr. Lad and me; 'for,' said he, 'I am now going to offer my gift upon the Altar; therefore, if my Brother hath aught against me, I must first be reconciled to my Brother, and then go and offer my gift.' After which, he desired the Prayers in the last Agonies (out of *his Death made Comfortable*), which we read three times (I think) in less than half an hour. All this being over, he desired to go into bed, so I withdrew. This, Sir, is all I can call to mind of that heavenly discourse; and if my Sorrow had not been

[1] Robert Kettlewell. He is said to have been a bookseller. His extravagant habits seem to have caused some estrangement between the brothers.

so deep for the loss of one of the faithfullest of God's Servants, and the best of all my Friends, you might no doubt have had a much fuller account."[1]

His last remaining strength was gone. He was helped into bed, and a cup of chocolate brought to him, but while he was being raised to drink it, he died. He was forty-two years old.

He had expressed a wish that Bishop Ken should read his funeral service, but he left the place of his burial to the choice of his widow. It was perhaps not easy to find a church in which one of the deprived clergy would be permitted to officiate; but Mr. Gascarth, the successor of Hickes at All Hallows, Barking, allowed the departed Nonjuror to be laid to rest according to his wish.

The church has an air of peace and quietness; it is older than the majority of City churches, having been untouched by the Great Fire. It stands close to the river bank, and but a stone's throw from the open space of Tower Hill. In the north-west corner of the sanctuary, just within the altar rails, a grave was prepared for the mortal remains of John Kettlewell. It was a noble sleeping-place for a loving son of the Church of England, for in that vault, for nineteen years, the bones of Laud had lain.

Kettlewell was buried on the 15th of April. Many

[1] "T. B. [Thomas Bell] *for Mr.* Nelson *at his house at* Blackheath."—"Life of Kettlewell," Appendix, pp. lxxvii.–lxxix.

nonjuring friends followed him to the grave. The Vicar of All Hallows was present, but the service was read by Bishop Ken, who intermingled (was it the survival of an ancient custom) some portions of Evensong with the Office for Burial. The news that that well-loved voice was once more to be heard in an open church spread fast, and before the service was over a little crowd had pressed in that they might have a share in his final blessing.

A tablet to the memory of "John Kettlewell, Nonjuror," was placed, and still remains, on the eastern wall of the sanctuary, to the south of the altar, on which his virtues are commemorated at some length, in the style in favour at the time. Another memorial, more to his own taste, he prepared for himself in the disposal which he made of his little property. He left to his wife for her life the profits of his Yorkshire farm and the copyright of his books, and to his brother and sister £300 each in trust for the benefit of their children; but after Mrs. Kettlewell's death, the estate of Lowfields was to be devoted to the benefit of the poor of Brompton and Northallerton. The profits were to be laid out in medicines for the sick, in clothing and religious books for the poor, and in the instruction of children, and £6 yearly was to be spent in apprenticing a boy, or helping to set him up in trade. It was further provided that if there were any youth in Brompton or Northallerton "of piety, parts, and

good improvement in school learning," whose friends were not able to maintain him at either of the universities without assistance, the rent of Lowfields might, for the time being, be applied wholly or in part, at the discretion of the trustees, to defray the expenses of his education. Kettlewell, in this "Charitable Settlement for pious uses," entreats his trustees to spare no pains in the administration of their trust. They are "most affectionately desired to consider that the Labours of Love and Charity in relieving the poorer members of our Blessed Lord, are accounted by Him as one of the most acknowledged ways of expressing our Love unto Himself . . . and that it is as true and as truly remarkable an act of Charity to take a prudent and upright care of the right faithfull and punctual Imployment of Charitable gifts, as it is to give them."[1] The Kettlewell Charity flourishes, though the lapse of time has occasioned some changes in the mode of its administration, and its founder's name is still remembered in his native place. A stained window to the memory of John Kettlewell was placed in Brompton Church only a few years ago.

Shortly after Kettlewell's death, Nelson published five of his sermons, the only ones, apparently, which had been preserved, to which he prefixed a short, affectionate sketch of the writer's character.

[1] A copy of this settlement is among the Sancroft papers in the Harleian MSS.

"You have done an honour to the memory of our dead Friend, which we all ought to acknowledge," wrote Bishop Ken, on receiving a copy of the book. "And I am very glad that his Life is writing by another Hand, as you tell me. *He was certainly as Saintlike a Man as ever I knew; and his Books are Demonstrations of it, which are full of as solid and searching a Piety as ever I read.* GOD was pleased to take him from the evil to come, to his own infinite advantage, but to *our great loss.* His Blessed Will be done."[1]

Ken always spoke of the friend whose warfare had closed so much earlier than his own with the same tender respect; Kettlewell was to him "that holy man who is now with God." To Kettlewell's writings he refers those who consult him on the difficult question of communion with the Established Church. In his will he speaks of passive obedience as "the Doctrine of the Cross," using a phrase to which Kettlewell had given currency.

Such testimonies as these, from the holy bishop whose life is among the treasures of the Church, leave nothing more to say. Yet we may ask with reverent interest, what was the special note of that saintliness of which the tradition has clung to the memory of

[1] Bishop Ken, "For his Worthy Friend Mr. Nelson, at his House at Blackheath, March 2, 1695-6."—Appendix to "Life of Kettlewell," p. lxxxvi.

Kettlewell, though the few and simple incidents of his history are almost forgotten. It seems to lie in his absolute singleness of aim; in the exceeding sincerity of his heart. A life, commonplace in most of its details, a character of no extraordinary force, was so uplifted by this true-hearted devotion to his Master's service, that he became a beacon to his own generation, and his name still shines on the roll of the English clergy with a distinct and separate light. Truth was to him such a sacred thing that he could not bear a departure from it even in the lightest jest; and the practice, so common in times of danger, of assuming disguises and false names, was so utterly repugnant to him, that he could never bring himself to address his friend Hickes as "Major," the title which he used (together with a military dress) when in concealment. To such a temper, oaths which must have been taken with internal reservation, prayers to which his heart gave no assent, were not merely difficult; they were impossible. Kettleworth became a Nonjuror, not from political principle, but as a religious necessity, with as pure a heart as ever martyr refused to sacrifice to the genius of Cæsar.

He had a clear understanding and sound judgment, with what may be called an English mind; respectful of authority, and yet accustomed to search out the truth for himself, on certain fixed and ancient lines of thought. "He took a deal of pains, nicely to

examine everything, before he would finally determine himself." He had a familiar acquaintance with the writings of the Fathers of the undivided Church, an acquaintance far more common among the clergy in his day than in the century that followed, and referred to their works on all occasions. He had "a hearty aversion to Popery," which he considered "full of most dangerous and mischievous error"; but no fear of Rome deterred him from teaching the Catholic Faith as he had learnt it from ancient writers and from the great theologians of the Reformed Church. His "Exhortation to Worthy Communicating" was written for people so deeply imbued with the Puritan spirit, that he felt it needful to insist at great length on the reasons for kneeling at the reception of the Blessed Sacrament; but he sets the truth before them plainly. "The Lord's Supper," he writes, "*is a Feast upon Sacrifice* . . . the feast upon a Sacrifice, which is God's Meat. . . . We are called on to eat Christ's Flesh and drink his Blood, not in their natural substance, but in their effects."

Kettlewell's studies seem to have been confined to theology. "His inclinations," wrote Nelson, "were towards Universal Knowledge; but he denied himself the prosecution of several delightful studies, that he might have more leisure for those of his own Profession. He loved Books, but contented himself with a few, rather than spend more than he could well afford,

or make himself incapable for the Exercise of Charity." He was an excellent man of business, orderly and precise in his ways, as shewn even in so small a matter as the delicately neat writing and careful punctuation of his familiar letters; a hater of debt or extravagance. His enemies accused him of avarice, but if this were so, the temptation was overcome when, at the call of duty, he left his home at Coleshill, with all its happy sense of security. He had an eager, affectionate temper, hot, and sometimes peevish, was naturally tenacious of his own opinion and somewhat combative; but these imperfections were gradually subdued to a resolute patience, and served but to render him "exceeding cautious, mighty humble, and very compassionate to others, as one that was nearly touched with their infirmities." And his views, strong and strongly held as they were, were compatible with large-hearted charity to those who differed from him.

Mrs. Kettlewell, his "most justly dear and entirely loving and faithful wife," survived her husband about twenty-five years.[1] A mention of her in the will of a Nonjuror indicates that she was in small circumstances, and probably also that she remained true to her husband's principles. S. Hawes[2] leaves "to my good

[1] The first payment of the Kettlewell Charities at Northallerton was made in 1720.—*Notes and Queries*, 3rd series.

[2] Probably Dr. Samuel Hawes, deprived Vicar of Braybrook,

friend Mrs. Kettlewell ten guineas. And for what money she is indebted to me, my will is that she be not called upon for it, but keep it during her life."

List of Works by John Kettlewell.[1]

Measures of Christian Obedience. 1681. Again in 1684 (pub. by R. White, Lond.), 1696*, 1700, 1709, 1714, and 1715 with portrait.

Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communicating. 1683. Went through nine editions, the last appearing in 1718*.

A Discourse explaining the Nature of Edification. Visitation Sermon at Coventry. 1684.

A Funeral Sermon for the Lady Frances Digby. 1684.

The Religious Loyalist. Visitation Sermon at Coleshill. 1686.

Sermon on Occasion of the Death of Simon, Lord Digby. 1686.

The Practical Believer, or the Articles of the Apostles' Creed drawn out to form a true Christian Heart and Practice. In two parts (with initials J. K.), 1688. Published by William Allen, D.D., folio, 1703. With preface by R. Nelson and additions, 1713. Translated into Welsh by Richard ap. Robert, 1768.

Of Christian Prudence, or Religious Wisdom, not degenerating into Irreligious Craftiness in trying times (anon. with initials J. K., 1688; with author's name, 1695).

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who became a bishop among the Nonjurors. In his will he leaves, among other legacies, a ring with Sir John Fenwick's hair, and the motto "*toujours loyalle.*"—Rawl. MSS., 166, 845.

[1] This catalogue of Kettlewell's works is taken from the "Dict. Nat. Biog.," with the exception of the editions marked with an asterisk, for which the writer is indebted to the kindness of the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor.

Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross, or Passive Obedience under any Pretended Invasion of Legal Rights and Liberties (anon. 1691; with author's name, 1695).

The Duty of Allegiance, in answer to a late book by Dr. William Sherlock, entitled "The Case of the Allegiance" (anon. 1691).

Of Christian Communion to be kept on in the Unity of Christ's Church (anon. 1693; reissued in 1695, with title of Four Several Tracts of the Rev. John Kettlewell).

A Companion for the Persecuted, or an Office for those who suffer for Righteousness. 1694.

A Companion for the Penitent, and for Persons troubled in Mind. 1694. Reissued in 1696, together with the Companion to the Persecuted. *Lond. 1706, 18mo.; *1727, 12mo.

Death made Comfortable. 1695. With an Office for the Sick. 1702, 1722.

Declaration made by him at receiving the Holy Sacrament, March 23, 1694. Printed on half-sheet in 1695.

Five Discourses, edited by R. Nelson in 1696, with Preface giving some account of his life. 2nd edit., 1707.

Office for Prisoners for Crime, with another for Prisoners for Debt. With Preface by R. Nelson. 1697.

Danger of Profuseness, edited by Nelson. 1697.

Complete Works and Life. Two vols., folio. 1719.

A treatise of the "New Oaths" was left by him in MSS., but never printed. With Dr. Bray and others, he edited William Allen's Discourses. 1699, folio*.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1695–1710.

DEATH OF JAMES II.—SCHEMES IN FAVOUR OF HIS SON—DEATH OF WILLIAM III.—QUEEN ANNE FAVOURABLE TO THE CHURCH—BISHOP KEN RESIGNS IN FAVOUR OF HOOPER—DEATHS OF TURNER, WHITE, FRAMPTON, AND LLOYD—RETURN OF DODWELL, NELSON, AND OTHERS TO THE ESTABLISHED CHURCH—DEATHS OF DODWELL AND KEN.

"These are not names of the past; they are leaders and guides of the present,

. . . . . .

Strong in their lion-like spirits, each valiantly laying about him,
Giving and taking of scars, doing good and endurant of evil."

REV. J. M. NEALE.

THE last years of the century passed in comparative quiet. The exiled king, weary of futile efforts to recover his crown, desired to be left to the practices of devotion in which he found peace and hope; but

after his death the efforts of his adherents became more active.

Among the Stuart papers is a sketch drawn up by the advisers of the young prince whom his friends called James III., describing the state of feeling in England in the last year of William's reign, as it appeared to the anxious Jacobites who watched every turn and current of the tide. Some extracts may be found interesting.

"The parties most to be considered," says the writer, "are: First, the Episcopal, which being in possession of the bells is far the most numerous, though not the most active; for being at their ease, and possessing not only the tythes but the magistracy and profitable employment of the nation, they flatter themselves with an opinion, that upon any emergency or change of state, they shall be able to give the law to all other interests. . . . That party rather suffers than approves of what has been done, by adding the House of Hanover to their weak and trembling intail. . . .

"The next party is the Presbyterian, which consists of a malicious sower and subtle party of men, who are more united in malice than the former. . . . Their numbers are wonderfully increased of late years, to the terror of the aspiring part of the episcopal parsons, who dread that bishops, deans, and chapters are tumbling down again. . . . The Independents, under which denomination may be included that rabble of

divers sects . . . which ingross in the whole a greater number of dissenters to the prelatical church than the Presbyterians do, and are mortal enemies to both . . . that since it appears impracticable to unite and settle all interests in a Commonwealth . . . it were better for the kingdom in general, but most for themselves in particular, that the rightful monarch should be a Catholic rather than of the episcopal or presbyterian ways. . . .

"The numerous parties of the Quakers cannot be reckoned under the last head. . . . Generally speaking, they are your Majesty's friends, and in all discourses with their oppugners charge them with their inhuman and unjust dealing with their rightful Prince. . . .[1]

"Lastly, the Nonjurant party of the nation may be thought of, though not numerous enough without the Catholics to make any considerable strength of appearance in the field. These, however, are respected as men of honour, that the penitent or discontented may safely open their minds to and can confide in, so that properly instructed they are safe agitators dispersed in every corner of the nation, who too, upon occasion, will to a man appear in the field for your Majesty's service.

"As for the Catholics, though I am sorry to say it, they seem the most desponding and least useful party

[1] William Penn's wife paid an annual visit to St. Germains. —Dean Plumptre's "Life of Ken," ii. 118.

in the Kingdom; nay, which is worse, they are the only people who encourage the interested and atheistical to stick to the Prince of Orange, though they both despise and hate him. . . . Some course must be taken to alter their conduct . . . or they will prove the greatest remora to any good design that may be set on foot."

The writer concludes by pressing for some immediate attempt to recover the crown. "The principal adversary has not one Englishman that loves him or his personal interest, whatever they may the use of his power, and therefore I conclude it to be much more easy to push him out of the saddle, and procure a restoration in his lifetime, than by expecting his death. . . . For if the Princess of Denmark or any other come to mount the throne, it will require some considerable time to render hers or their government as odious as his now is become."

William, fully conscious of the network of intrigue which surrounded him, endeavoured to guard his throne by new and more stringent oaths, in which he was styled the "rightful" king, and all present or future claims of the Stuart line solemnly abjured. These oaths were to be tendered to all official persons;[1]

[1] Though this oath was not generally imposed until the accession of George I., it was kept as a rod in pickle through Queen Anne's reign, and tendered to suspected persons at the discretion of Government. In 1708 Robert Nelson writes to

at the same time, an act of attainder was passed against the boy of thirteen who had dared to assert his right to the crown of his fathers. William reaped no advantage from these harsh measures. Before the new acts were signed he was a dying man, and in March, 1702, the Princess Anne succeeded to the throne.

The new queen was believed to be favourable to her brother's claims, provided they were not too actively prosecuted in her lifetime; and since James was not yet of age to govern, his followers were for the most part content to let her reign in peace, and turned their attention to securing the crown on the next vacancy. The supreme power was once more in the hands of a sovereign of English birth, and the bitterness of controversy, if not silenced, was at least allayed.

The Church, to which Queen Anne was sincerely attached, enjoyed a brief period of consideration and prosperity. Good men were sought out and promoted. Beveridge, who had been left unnoticed since his refusal of Bath and Wells, was made Bishop of St. Asaph in 1704, and Dr. Bull was consecrated to St. David's in 1705. Hooper was also made a bishop, to the great pleasure of his old friend Bishop Ken.

his old friend Dr. Mapletoft, complaining that "you were pleased to say in a public coffee-house that I was slipt out of the way because I would not take the oaths. . . . In times of public ferment the less one is mentioned the better."— Secretan, p. 83.

"He is one of the best understandings I ever knew, and if he will exert himself, will do excellent service to this sinking Church," wrote Ken to Lloyd when he heard of the appointment. His joy was much increased when, on the tragic death of Bishop Kidder,[1] Hooper was invited to become his successor; and when Hooper refused to accept a see which in his judgment was not legally vacant, Ken wrote urgent letters both to him and to Bishop Lloyd, expressing his wish to resign in his favour, in terms which show how tenderly he loved the diocese from which he had been forced away.

"I am informed," he says, "that you have had an offer of Bath and Wells, and y^t^ you refused it, which I take very kindly, because I know you did it on my account; but since I am well assured y^t^ the diocese cannot be happy to y^t^ degree in any other hands than in your owne, I DESIRE YOU TO ACCEPT OF IT, and I know that you have a prevailing interest to secure it." A few days later he wrote again, "I know you will jealously *contend for the faith once delivered to the Saints*, which in these *latitudinarian times* is in great danger to be lost."

Ken's conduct in this resignation of his claims was severely criticized by some of his brethren. Bishop

[1] The great storm of 1703, in which eight thousand persons are said to have perished, blew down part of the palace of Wells, and Bishop Kidder, with his wife, was buried in the ruins.

Lloyd wrote begging him to defer taking any decided step until they could meet and discuss the matter, but Ken felt that this delay would be ruinous to his hopes for the welfare of his dear flock. "I owne that you had wrote to me to defer my Cession," he says in half apology to Lloyd, "but that the nature of the thing would not permit it, and if I had not given my consent to it by that post, I might have had a hireling and not a Shepherd." "I had such experience," he says in another letter, "of one before (Kidder) who, instead of keeping the flock within the fold, encouraged them to stray, that I was afraid of a traditour, and at such a time as this, thought I could not do a greater kindness to the diocese than in procuring it one of the most valuable men in the Church, and one who was so very able to defend the *depositum* which seems to me to be in the utmost danger." [1]

These expressions of deep anxiety as to the general state of religion occur again and again in Ken's letters. He speaks of "the strong current that runs against the Church;" [2] of his fear that if he did not

[1] This correspondence is given very fully in Dean Plumptre's "Life of Ken," vol. ii.

[2] The general apathy is strongly shown by the indifference with which Dr. Bray's noble efforts were regarded. When he went, at the desire of the Bishop of London, to labour for the revival of the decaying American missions, he (having refused two good preferments that he might devote himself to the work)

make way for Hooper, the diocese might be given over to "a Latitudinarian Traditour who would betray y^e^ baptismal Faith;" of the "fatal consequence" that was likely to ensue from the disuse of public worship among the nonjuring laity.

The attempt of William III. to force the Church into a declaration of consent to the Revolution had worked double mischief. On the one side, many among the complying clergy had lowered their own standard, and impaired the respect in which they had been held, by obeying the Government against their convictions; on the other, those Nonjurors whose circumstances placed them out of reach of priests of their own persuasion, were in danger of drifting into indifference from the want of all religious ordinances. Some of the deprived bishops, Ken especially, endeavoured to remedy such part of the evil as they could touch, by taking a milder line than had seemed to them advisable in the first heat of the conflict. "I never argued the case with lay-people," Ken writes to Lloyd in 1702, "but recommended to them the two last chapters of Mr. Kettlewell's book, where it is truly and fully stated, to my apprehension, and I am extremely satisfied that your sentiments concur with mine. Our brother of Ely, now with

had to sell his own little property, and to borrow money, to pay his expenses, and on his return, penniless, was indebted to a Nonjuror, Lord Weymouth, for a sum of money to meet his immediate needs.

God, had the like thoughts, and gave the like advice to a worthy person now near me in the country." [1]

The book to which Bishop Ken refers, is the "Christian Communion," in which Kettlewell teaches that "the necessity of having some ministerial Communion will be an excuse for the Faultiness of having this at the hands of one Ministering in a Schism."

As one by one the deprived bishops passed away, there arose a growing desire to heal the breaches in the Church. Dr. White, Bishop of Peterborough, a man "famous for strength of body and greatness of courage," of "exemplary magnanimity and constancy of soul," died in 1698. In 1700 Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, closed his unquiet life. The Stuart cause lost one of its most faithful friends when he was laid in Therfield Church, where he had once been rector. "No disappointments or discouragements shall (by the grace of God) make me give over what I think my duty," he had written to Sancroft from the hiding-place in which he took refuge after the failure of Lord Preston's plot; and later on Sancroft expresses his extreme anxiety lest Turner's marked

[1] Bishop Ken gives the same advice to a Mr. Cressy who applied to him (through Nelson): "I shall therefore recommend to you y^e^ serious perusal of y^e^ two last chapters in good Mr. Kettlewell's book of Communion, and by that you shall know my mind."—Plumptre's "Life of Ken," ii. 198.

and handsome features (his portrait is to be seen at New College), which would be noticeable "should he travest himself into what habit he will, or spread a Patriarchal Beard, or cover all with any sort of Perruke you can fancy," should betray him to the authorities. "The only comfortable reflection in this case is, that God can hide whom He pleaseth in the hollow of His Hand, or in the secret of His Presence; and though the King and his Ministers sought Jeremiah and Baruch, to take them, yet the Lord hid them."[1] The resting-place of the loyal bishop is marked by a stone inscribed with one word, "*Expergiscar.*"

Robert Frampton, Bishop of Gloucester, survived till 1708. There is no more lovable figure in the records of his day than this kindly, affectionate, humble, cheerful old man; his spirits the brighter for adversity, "like the birds that sing sweetest in winter;" fearless and honest; of such wide-hearted charity that he went, unsummoned, to visit the hated Judge Jeffreys in his prison, and ministered to him on his deathbed.[2] He was confined to his house for the last

[1] Sancroft to Lloyd.—Williams MS., from the "Life of Ken," by a Layman, ii. 577.

[2] When Jeffreys lay in the Tower ill, the bishop "gave him a friendly visit, and found him sitting in a low chair, with a long beard on, and a small pot of water by him, and weeping with himself; his tears were, as the Bishop observed, very great ones. . . . 'My lord,' said the Bishop, 'I see you are disconsolate; I find you weeping. If they be upon the score of the hardships you labour under at present, e'en cast away the one,

years of his life, owing to an injury received on his return from his examination before the Privy Council in 1669. Ken writes of a visit to him not long after, "Our good Brother of Gloucester was not a little joyed to see me. He is very cheerful, and being past eighty does not only daily expect, but like St. Paul, longs for his dissolution." The good bishop lived until the Tuesday in Whitsun-week, 1708, when he passed away, at the age of eighty-six, "like a shock of corn in his season, being taken to that barn where the Saviour in parable says, He lays up the wheat, where 'tis noted that 'tis never brought thither till threshed from the chaff and straw." [1]

On the 1st of January, 1710, Bishop Lloyd, who had been regarded by the Nonjurors as their head since the death of Archbishop Sancroft, died at

and dry the other, as unworthy either a man or a Christian. But if they are from the reflection you make upon your past life, . . . weep on and spare not; these tears of yours are more precious than diamonds.' . . . 'My Lord,' replied the prisoner, 'all the disgraces I have suffered hitherto I can bear, and by God's grace will submit to whatever more shall befall me, since I see so much of the goodness of God in sending you to me, you that I never in the least deserved anything from. . . . I thank God for your fatherly advice, and desire your prayers that I may be able to follow it, and by that you would add to this the friendship of another visit.'"—"Life of Robert Frampton," p. 195. From Frampton's hands the disgraced judge received the Holy Sacrament, and so died, penitent.

[1] "Life," pp. 225–231.

Hammersmith. He had been among the most active and devoted of the bishops, first at Llandaff, where he was "a generous promoter of the welfare of that Cathedral," and afterwards at Norwich. After his deprivation, he lived chiefly in or near London—"fixing y^rself there in the very point of danger," says Sancroft, in one of his frequent and affectionate letters, "as y^e centre of Unity, filling y^e whole Circumference w^th y^r care."

Some years earlier Dodwell had published "The Case in View," in which he argued that whenever the deprived bishops should leave their sees vacant, either by death or resignation, the need for keeping up a separation from the Established Church would cease; and a few days after Bishop Lloyd's death, he wrote to Ken asking his opinion on this point, and on the further difficulty caused by the consecration of Hickes and Wagstaffe, which had been kept so private, that only a few of the leading Nonjurors seem to have been aware that it had taken place.

"I have already written to my Lord of Bath and Wells," he says in a letter to a friend, dated from Shottesbrook, January 11, 1709(10), "as the only survivor of the invalidly deprived Bishops, and as thereby having it in his power now to free not only his own private Diocese, but the whole National Church, from the schism introduced by filling the sees, which were no otherwise empty than by the invalid

deprivations. This I take to be sufficient upon our principles, who cannot justify our separate communion on any other ground than that of the schism, provided there be no other whom we do not yet know of, who does claim and can prove some better title to some one episcopal Altar of our National Church by succession to some of our deceased fathers, than the present incumbents. This I had no mind to signify to Mr. K. [Keble?] before others in his shop, when he would have me declare myself satisfied, that the schism would end with the life of my Lord of Norwich. I had no mind then to intimate the case of clandestine consecrations by our deceased Fathers before persons who were not concerned for the satisfaction of their own conscience. . . . The persons concerned in a good right so derived may, and that commendably, in prospect of the peace that may follow . . . wave their right, how good soever otherwise. . . . It concerns us all to join our prayers that our own concord be broken as little as is possible, by our reconciliation into one communion with our adversaries."[1]

Bishop Ken's answer is dated a month later, as though he felt that the matter required much consideration; but his decision is given without reserve. "You are pleased," he says, "to ask me whether I insist on my Episcopal claim, and my answer is that I do not, and that I have no reason to insist on it, in

[1] Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," p. 206.

regard that I made a cession to my present most worthy successor. . . . As for any clandestine claims, my judgement was always against it, and I never had nothing to do with it, foreseeing that it would perpetuate a schism which I found very afflicting to good people scattered in the country, where they could have no divine office performed."[1] Ken wrote about this same time to Robert Nelson, who had also consulted him, giving the same advice, but adding that he would not himself go to church, "being a public person," though he would make no difficulty in communicating with his successor "in that part of the office which is unexceptionable."

On the receipt of these letters, Dodwell and Cherry visited Nelson in town, and the three determined to return to the public worship of the Church. On the 26th of February, being the first Sunday in Lent, the bells of Shottesbrook rang a joyful peal, as, amid their rejoicing neighbours, the good squire and his friend, with their wives and families, returned to the parish church from which they had been absent for nearly twenty years. Nelson's reconciliation was delayed somewhat longer, but on Easter Day he received the Holy Communion in St. Mildred's, Poultry, from the hands of Archbishop Sharp.

The State prayers were still felt to be a great difficulty. Nelson announced his intention never to go

[1] Dean Plumptre, "Life of Ken," ii. 193.

to church on days of prayer appointed by royal authority, because "the intention of those days is a solemn acknowledgement of the pretended rights" to which he could not assent; but the prayers in the daily services could not be avoided, and though Queen Anne's name carried a less obnoxious sound to Jacobite ears than did that of William, even those who wished her well scrupled to pray for her as their sovereign. Dodwell published a second part of the "Case in View," in which he urged that "our presence at the immoral Petitions does not oblige us to answer Amen to them;" and a variety of curious modes of marking dissent were adopted by the returned Legitimists. Mr. Cherry, conceiving no doubt that his position as a county magnate required him to express his views with distinctness, rose when the queen's name occurred in the service, and stood facing the congregation, thus affording a continual object-lesson to the Shottesbrook rustics, whose minds must have been much divided between the nonjuring squire and the complying rector. Dodwell, with the milder way of an old man and a scholar, contented himself with slipping off his knees and sitting on his hassock. Some worshippers rustled the leaves of their Prayer-books, as if to drown the objectionable words. "Endeavours are using," wrote Dodwell to a friend, "that this difference of practice may make as little difference in our flock as may be; these endeavours will deserve the

prayers of all who desire the peace as well as good of this afflicted Church."

Dodwell himself did his utmost to promote the peace which he desired. Burnet was his diocesan, and to Burnet, distasteful as the step must have been to him, he applied for the confirmation of his children, in a letter expressing his own views in terms which perhaps were less than conciliatory. "I value," he says, "this ordinance more than the loose latitudinarian opinions of the age would oblige me to do, taking it for the true baptism of the Spirit, derived from the Apostles." Burnet answered with even more than his usual rudeness, calling Dodwell "one of the most self-conceited men of the age," and saying that he "should not be in Berkshire for confirmations till Midsummer twelvemonth." But if Dodwell were sometimes arrogant in controversy, he had a truly humble spirit, and he answered Burnet's attack so gently as to bring a friendly answer from the bishop. The peace which he sought on earth was soon to be granted to him more fully. He died in 1712, being able to join, to the last day of his life, in the prayers of the Church which he loved so well. Francis Cherry followed his friend in the course of a year.

Bishop Ken had already passed away. On the 21st of March, 1711, he was carried from Longleat in the grey dawn to the nearest church of his own diocese, Frome Selwood, and laid beneath the east window at

the rising of the sun. Among his papers was found an epitaph which he had prepared for himself—

"May the here interred Thomas, Late Bp. of Bath and Wells, and uncanonically deprived for not transferring his Allegiance, have a perfect Consummation of Blisse, both in body and soul, at The Great Day, of w^{h} God keep me alwaies mindful."

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1711–1716.

CONSECRATION OF HAWES, SPINCKES, AND COLLIER—HOPES OF RESTORATION OF THE STUARTS—PUBLICATION OF "HEREDITARY RIGHT"—PUNISHMENT OF THE EDITOR AT INSTANCE OF HANOVERIAN MINISTER—ACCESSION OF GEORGE I.—GENERAL IMPOSITION OF ABJURATION OATH—FRESH DEPRIVATIONS—PERSECUTION OF HIGH CHURCHMEN—DECLINE OF THE CHURCH—DEATHS OF NELSON AND HICKES.

"The Stuarts have found few apologists, for the dead cannot pay for praise, and who will, without reward, oppose the tide of popularity? Yet there remains still among us, not wholly extinguished, a zeal for truth, a desire of establishing right in opposition to fashion."—DR. JOHNSON.

THAT peace for which Ken had longed, for which he had laboured almost to the breaking of his closest ties, was still very far away. Hickes considered that the time of need, in view of which he had been

consecrated, had now come, and he was by no means prepared to waive his rights or to neglect the duties which he conceived to be laid on him by his sacred office. Wagstaffe died in 1712; his own health was much broken, and in 1713 he determined to continue the nonjuring succession by the help of two Scotch bishops, Campbell and Gadderer. It would be beyond the scope of this brief account to venture on a consideration of the possible rights of suffragans in cases of emergency. Hickes's own view of the situation is shown by the statement in the record of consecration, that "all the Catholic Bishops of the English Church had died except the Bishop of Thetford."[1] It is difficult now to read this quaint assertion without a smile, but it was made by Hickes in all sincerity; and when, in his oratory in Scroope's Court, near St. Andrew's, Holborn, he and his Scotch brethren laid their hands on Samuel Hawes, Nathanael Spinckes, and Jeremiah Collier, there can be little doubt that he thought he was saving the broken remnant of the true Church in England from utter destruction. There were many who thought with him—men of high character and wide attainments. Hickes himself was, in the words of his friend Nelson, a "great Master of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, and the

[1] Quoted in "Dict. Nat. Biog.," Life of Hickes. The consecrations were witnessed by the Earl of Winchelsea and Henry Gandy.

most considerable Reviver of Primitive Theology that hath appeared in our time . . . having built his study of Divinity upon the Holy Scriptures and the Primitive Fathers of the Church, as the best Expositors of those sacred Writings; . . . above all, the solid and substantial Piety of his Conduct maketh his Example a constant Instruction to those who live within the reach of it."[1]

One, at least, of the new bishops, Spinckes, was held in reverence by all who knew him as a man of even saintly life;[2] of another, Jeremiah Collier, it has been said that "his Church History is still one of the most, if not the most valuable, of our ecclesiastical histories; and all his works display talents of no common kind."[3] Of these works, perhaps the most notable is his courageous attack on the immorality of the stage, which had a remarkable effect for good, and drew expressions of

[1] Nelson's "Life of Bishop Bull," p. 513.

[2] It was said of Spinckes that he was "low of stature, venerable of aspect, and exalted in character. He had no wealth, few enemies, many friends. He was orthodox in his faith, his enemies being judges. He had uncommon learning and superior judgment; and his exemplary life was concluded by a happy death. His patience was great, his self-denial greater: his charity still greater: though his temper seemed his cardinal virtue (a happy conjunction of constitution and grace), having never been observed to fail him in a stage of nine and thirty years."—Quoted in "Hist. Nonjurors," p. 365.

[3] Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," p. 364.

regret even from a writer so great and so admired as Dryden. However difficult it may be to understand the line of conduct followed by such men as these, it is impossible to set it aside as unworthy of attention.

The moment was critical, and the hopes of the Jacobites had risen high. "Since the Revolution," wrote Charles Leslie (Lord Clarendon's chaplain, who, under the name of Lamb, was much in the confidence of the exiled court), "there has not been so great a confusion of councils and of measures in England as there has been since the last change in the ministry. . . . There is at present a concurrence of circumstances more favourable for an enterprise than there has been since his Majesty came out of England. . . . It is generally thought that the Princess of Denmark is favourably inclined towards the King her brother; and that she would desire rather to have him for her successor than the Prince of Hanover. But she is timid, and does not know to whom she can give her confidence. . . . It is certain that the greatest number of the Scots are disposed to join their king from inclination, and from a principle of loyalty. . . . But there are besides a set of men, well disposed, who have taken the oaths to the government only by form, and from interest, and whom General Stanhope, in Sacheverell's trial, called the Nonjuror-swearers. These are very numerous in the two

kingdoms. There is not a High Churchman in England that is not suspected by the Government . . . and these comprise almost the whole nation, excepting such as are Whigs or Presbyterians by profession; who, however, are become the contempt and aversion of the people."[1]

Leslie goes on to point out that one thing only stood between James Francis and his hereditary crown —the religion in which he had been educated, and he entreats him to give assurances of his willingness to protect the Church of England, and to promise that when restored to his throne he will listen to arguments in its favour. "God forbid that more should be demanded of him, to gain even all the kingdoms of the earth."

The curious history of the publication of Harbin's "Hereditary Right" shows how boldly the Nonjurors asserted the justice of their cause. The book was written by Harbin while chaplain at Longleat, in reply to one Higden, a relapsed Nonjuror, who felt it needful to justify his desertion in a work entitled, "A View of the English Constitution." "Mr. Higden," says a writer of the period,[2] "openly maintains the title of a successful usurpation, and gives her Majesty

[1] Memorial written by Leslie for the court of St. Germains. —Macpherson, ii. 210.

[2] "A Letter to the Rev. Wm. Higden," quoted by Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," p. 231.

no other right or title whatever. This is all she gets by the Jacobite converts. They *expose* her to *excuse* themselves." Harbin, in his answer, asserts that the sovereign of England had never urged the plea of possession, but always some hereditary or testamentary right, and excuses the assumption of the crown by the reigning sovereign by the statement that "cases may be supposed of princes, who for want of power and opportunity of doing right to the lawful heir, are forced to endure the burden of a crown, which they would readily and gladly ease themselves of upon a lawful occasion."[1] The book was printed anonymously, and seen through the press by Hilkiah Bedford, with some assistance from Robert Nelson. In a letter in which Nelson communicates to Bedford the death of Mr. Cherry, he tells him that he is "reading over once more that admirable treatise Mr. Smith has printed (the 'Hereditary Right'), and may truly say of it, *decies repetita placebit.* I cannot think that Dr. Higden will ever pretend to answer the author, who is much his superior in reason and style, as well as in law and history. I am very much mistaken if that book is not read with universal applause. I do not remember any passages which are obnoxious to the censure of ye Government; but if I find any which may have a tendency that way, I will not fail to remark them. As to the title, we may

[1] Quoted by Mr. Secretan, "Life of Nelson," p. 85.

discourse further upon that point when we meet, wh I hope will be next week."[1]

This book was advertised with all possible publicity, copies of the title-page being posted in conspicuous places on a Sunday morning, where they would meet the eyes of church-goers; and the work itself being sent in large numbers to men in authority, and to officers in the army. A richly bound copy was presented to Queen Anne herself, and lay for some days in her private room.

The Government may not have objected to the publication, but the Hanoverian minister, recollecting how many descendants of Stuart kings stood between his master and the English throne, took a different view, and insisted on the prosecution of the author. Harbin's name did not transpire, but Hilkiah Bedford was brought before the Court of King's Bench, and condemned to three years' imprisonment, to a fine of a thousand marks, and to appear in court with a paper on his hat describing his crime. This last ridiculous punishment was remitted, but Bedford suffered the heavier part of his sentence in silence. "Though not the real author, he submitted to be thought so, from zeal to the cause and affection to the real author," who visited him in prison, bringing a substantial token of sympathy from Lord Weymouth in the shape of a hundred pounds.

[1] "Life of Nelson," pp. 86, 87.

The Chevalier was recommended to the people of England by all the charm of youth and misfortune, and the vague hopes inspired by the possibilities of a life the character of which was still undeveloped. The heir whom the wisdom of Parliament had discovered at Hanover could exercise no such fascination. Prince George was fifty-four years old, and a great deal was known about him, not at all to his advantage. He was so indifferent to the good will of his future subjects that he would not give himself the trouble of learning their language; he was awkward and undignified in his manner and niggardly in his disposition; of a temper so unpleasing and vindictive that he was jealous of the influence of his own son, and held his wife, after a quarrel of which the history has never been fully known, close prisoner in a lonely castle, where she had already spent twenty weary years.

Against this unattractive catalogue one thing only could be set. Such religion as Prince George could be supposed to have was Protestant, while the Chevalier had been trained under the eye of Louis XIV., in a Romanism of which the narrowness and bigotry may be estimated by Leslie's declaration in his paper already quoted, that "if his Most Christian Majesty would only connive at allowing the Protestant domestics of the King of England to assemble themselves from time to time at St. Germains in order to

worship God in the most secret manner that possibly could be, that would do more service than ten thousand men. . . . If it could be said in England that the king had procured for the Protestant servants who attend him the liberty which is here proposed for them, that would be half the way to his restoration. I only repeat here the very words which I have heard from sensible men in London."[1]

The deeply rooted instincts of the English people assured them that their Church would be in danger from a young man so brought up, whatever safeguards he might offer; and the dread of Rome conquered in many cases the dislike which was felt to an alien ruler. Yet, up to the moment of the queen's death, the balance hung doubtful; and only the prompt action of some of the great Whig nobles secured the succession for the Hanoverian line. While Anne lay half unconscious, they sent a Secretary of State to the Elector desiring his immediate presence; four regiments were ordered to London, an embargo laid on all the ports, and a fleet prepared for sea. On the 1st of August, 1714, Queen Anne died, and George I. was proclaimed without resistance.

One of the first acts of the new reign was to require the Oath of Abjuration to be taken by every one holding a post of the value of five pounds a year and upwards—a measure which led to the multiplication of

[1] Macpherson, ii. p. 216.

Nonjurors, and set the prospect of reunion further off than ever. Many who during Queen Anne's reign had taken the Oaths of Allegiance, with the hope in their hearts that some day they might transfer their obedience to the rightful heir, now had to consider whether they would resign their offices or forswear their principles.

"I utterly refused," writes Hearne, "resigned my place of architypographer and superior beadle, was debarred (for I never resigned) my post of hypobibliothecarius of the Bodleian Library; and I am now so much dissatisfied with both oaths, that I decline and will decline taking either of them to the present possessor of the crown." Some Tories were not so honest as the worthy antiquary, who owed his education to that loyal Jacobite, Francis Cherry.

John Byrom's journal gives a lively picture of difficulties which no doubt he shared with many of his young contemporaries. Three Trinity Fellowships were vacant, and Byrom evidently felt that he had a good prospect of succeeding to one of them, but the oath barred the way. This is how he communes with himself on the subject. "But this oath; I am not satisfied so well as to like it, nor am I verily persuaded of its being unlawful. . . . It is very hard —everything so orderly settled in regard to posterity, and all must be undone for the sake of a man who has a disputed title to his birth and right too. . . . The Commons, I see, have taken the Abjuration Oath,

etc. How is it likely this young fellow should ever come among us? . . . Our Dr. Bentley has been at London, and he says everybody is for the succession." A year later he writes, "The Abjuration Oath has not been put to us yet, nor do I know when it will be; nobody of our year scruples it, and indeed in the sense they say they shall take it, I could. One says he can do it, and like the Pretender never the worse; another, that it only means he won't plot to bring him in—he doesn't trouble his head about him, etc. You know my opinion, that I am not clearly convinced that it is lawful, nor that it is unlawful; sometimes I think one thing, and sometimes another." [1]

Compare with this rather ignoble balancing of honour and interest, the touching letter in which William Law explains to his brother his reasons for resigning his career at Cambridge. "I have sent my mother such news as I am afraid she will be too much concerned at," he wrote, on giving up his Fellowship at Emmanuel, "which is the only trouble for what I have done. . . . My prospect, indeed, is melancholy enough, but had I done what was required of me to avoid it, I should have thought my condition much worse. The benefits of my education seem partly at an end, but that same education had been more miserably lost if I had not learnt to fear something more than misfortunes. As to the multitude of

[1] Quoted in Mr. Overton's "Life of William Law."

swearers, that has no influence upon me; their reasons are only to be considered, and every one knows no good ones can be given for people swearing the direct contrary to what they believe. . . . I expected to have had a greater share of worldly advantages than what I am now likely to enjoy; but am fully persuaded, that if I am not happier for this trial, it will be my own fault. . . . I have hitherto enjoyed a large share of happiness, and if the time to come be not so pleasant, the memory of what is past shall make me thankful. . . . Say as many comfortable things as you can to my mother, and persuade her to think with satisfaction upon that condition which upon my account gives me no uneasiness."[1]

The Church of England might probably have fared badly if James III. had worn the crown; it did not greatly flourish under the reign of George I. Such a result could indeed scarcely be expected, as was felt by High Churchmen at the time. "However religious the king is," says Atterbury, "it cannot be imagined that he hath any extraordinany veneration for a religion which he came into but the other day, and to which he was an absolute stranger before. The Lutheran, wherein he was educated, and which he professed to the very hour of his landing, is entirely different, both

[1] "Life of William Law," by J. H. Overton, pp. 13, 14. At St. John's College, Cambridge, twenty-two Fellows refused the Oath of Abjuration, and were deprived in consequence.

in doctrine and discipline, from ours. So that since his Majesty, to qualify himself for the crown, was pleased to depart from his own to embrace a religion so different, it is no remote thought to apprehend he may consent to the alteration of ours."[1]

It was not alone the Nonjurors who suffered. To be a High Churchman was considered, not altogether without reason, a sign of Jacobite tendencies, and all who were suspected of such inclinations were liable to be treated with the utmost rigour of which the law could be made capable. "Great complaints were made that the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge encouraged Jacobitism in connection with the Charity Schools. 'While the Protestant succession was doubtful,' writes Bishop Gibson, 'some persons, otherwise virtuous and good men, endeavoured to get the management of Charity Schools into their hands, and to make them instrumental in rousing and spreading an aversion to the Protestant Settlement.'"[2]

It was perhaps for this reason, that when a sermon was preached at Chiselhurst in aid of the schools of St. Ann's, Aldersgate Street (some of the children being present, the more to appeal to the feelings of the congregation), "the rector, the preacher, and the

[1] Somers Tracts, xiii., quoted in "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," Messrs. Abbey and Overton, i. 86.

[2] "The English Church in the Eighteenth Century," by the Rev. J. H. Overton and C. J. Abbey, i. 78.

persons who took the children down to Chiselhurst," were taken into custody, and bound over to make their appearance at the assizes for trial. This happened in 1718. When the trial took place, the judge informed the jury that "no collection even for charity (unless for the poor of the same parish) is by law to be made, but by the leave and permission of the king." This case was "an invasion not only on the king's prerogative, but also upon the legislature." The defendants were accordingly found guilty of sedition. A small fine only was inflicted, lest compassion should have been excited and a collection made for the parties, as this just judge informed the Lord Chancellor; but the Rector of Chiselhurst died forty-eight hours after his return home, from fatigue and worry.[1]

The judge, in his letter to the Lord Chancellor, also complains that the Bishop of London "had issued a circular letter to all his clergy to collect charities in their parishes for the poor vicarages in England, which I thought much akin to the late collection in Kent, or rather more dangerous, not only by raising a vast sum of money (if he like in all dioceses), but also by marking out people how far affected to the Church throughout England."

In this same year a Mr. Bysse, having preached

[1] Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," pp. 305–307. The consent of the Bishop of Rochester had been obtained for the sermon.

seditious sermons, of what nature does not appear, in his parish church, was sentenced to stand twice in the pillory, and to be imprisoned for four years.[1]

After this, one reads without surprise that when the Nonjuror, Laurence Howell, an excellent and learned man, the author of valuable works on the Canons of the Church and on the Roman Controversy,[2] was placed in the dock, charged with being the author of a pamphlet (printed, but not published[3]) called "The Case of Schism in the Church of England fully stated," he was sentenced to be flogged. "Who will whip a clergyman?" he asked. "We pay no deference to your cloth, because you are a disgrace to it," was the answer. "Besides that, you produce no proof of your ordination but from Dr. Hickes." Howell's gown was pulled off in court by the executioner; the

[1] Calamy, "Own Times."

[2] Mr. Lathbury ("Hist. Nonjurors," p. 368) gives a quotation from one of these works, the "History of the Pontificate," as showing how far the Nonjurors were from the Romanizing tendencies sometimes laid to their charge. "Among the many remarkable impresses of truth," says Howell, "our Church bears, it is one, that she does not blindfold her proselytes, but leaves them the use of their faculties; and does not, by intruding on them an implicit belief, force them to lay down their reason when they take up their faith."

[3] The printers' offices, many of which were in the hands of Nonjurors, were watched by Government with jealous care. In 1719 a printer's apprentice, named Matthews, not nineteen years old, was *hung* for printing a tract in favour of the Chevalier.

whipping was subsequently remitted, but he remained in Newgate till his death.

A sincere admirer of the House of Hanover, Bishop Warburton, thus describes their policy with regard to the Church: "Some warm friends of the accession" suspected that the Church "was become inauspicious to the sacred æra from which we were to date the commencement of our civil happiness; and therefore deemed it good policy to lessen the credit of a body of men, who had been long in high reverence with the people. . . . To this end they invited some learned men, who in the preceding reign had served the common cause, to take up the pen once more against its most pestilent enemies, the Jacobite clergy. They readily assumed the task, and did it so effectually, that under the professed design of confuting and decrying the usurpations of a popish hierarchy, they virtually deprived the Church of every power and privilege which, as a simple society, she had a claim to, and upon the matter delivered her gagged and bound, as the rebel creature of the State. But this was not the worst. These enemies of obnoxious Churchmen found much assistance . . . in the enemies of religion itself. . . . Certain it is that the attack never ceased operating till all these various kinds of free-writing were gotten into the hands of the people. . . . Religion having lost its hold on the people, the ministers of religion were of no further consequence to the State;

nor were statesmen any longer under the hard necessity of seeking out the most eminent for the honours of their profession. . . . They could now employ Church honours more directly for the use of government, *i.e.* of their own, by conferring them on such subjects as most gratified their taste or humour or served best to strengthen their connection with the great."[1]

It is no wonder that the work of the Church grew slack.

In 1711 the House of Commons, on the Report of Convocation, had voted the magnificent sum of £350,000 for building fifty new churches in London; of these churches, but twelve were ever completed.[2] Robert Nelson's "Address to Persons of Quality and Estate" shows what noble schemes of work for God filled the hearts of Churchmen of his day. In this tract he urges the establishment of incurable hospitals and orphanages, of penitentiaries for the fallen, "whereby to secure their future estate, and possess here their own soul out of the noise and scandal of the world by a true Christian discipline;" of schools for vagrant children; of "houses of hospitality" for entertaining strangers. He pleads for houses in

[1] Bishop Warburton to Lord Mansfield, from a review of "Some Unpublished Papers of Bishop Warburton."—"Occasional Papers," by Rev. John Keble.

[2] Secretan, p. 146, n.

which those who need a temporary retreat, or who desire improvement in knowledge and piety, both men and women, "may have all the advantages of a religious and useful society;" for the foundation of theological colleges,[1] for the increase of suffragan bishops, and for bishops for America.[2]

Nelson was taken away before the evil days broke on the ruin, or rather on the long delay, of those hopes to which he had given his heart and the labour of his life. He died in January, 1715, tenderly watched by Francis Lee, as he himself had watched Kettlewell.

Hickes, a much older man, had another year to live. He saw the rising of the north for the Chevalier; but before its collapse he too had passed beyond the reach of strife and disappointment. "Our excellent friend the Dean of Worcester," wrote Hilkiah Bedford to Thomas Hearne on the 15th of December, "was at about 12 last night taken speechless, and died this morning soon after 10. I pray God support us under this great loss, and all our afflictions, and remove them, or us from them, when it is His blessed Will." Before his death, Hickes gave to a friend the prayer following, requesting that it might be offered for him after his departure:—

[1] One such college was being carried on by Bishop Wilson—"the witness to truth and holiness in his lonely Isle, while chillness was benumbing his Mother Church."

[2] Secretan, "Life of Nelson," pp. 147–152.

"Do Thou, O Lord, now look upon this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen, and taken from this into the other state. O Thou lover of men, forgive him all his offences which he hath committed willingly or unwillingly against Thee, and send Thy benevolent holy angels to him, to conduct him into the bosom of the patriarchs, prophets, and apostles, etc." [1]

[1] From Campbell's "Primitive Doctrines Revived," quoted by Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," p. 302. Cf. a prayer, apparently by Francis Lee, in an Office of Commemoration of "R. N. [Robert Nelson] of blessed memory, my familiar Friend and Brother." "Lord, lift Thou up the light of Thy countenance upon all faithful souls, and more particularly upon all who have been confessors among us for truth and righteousness, especially this our dear brother, Thy servant, and the delight of my soul, and let the cry both of him and all the other souls lying under the heavenly altar, with the seal of faith, together with the prayers of all the dead Israelites, from the faithful Abraham down to this day, come up before Thee and be accepted; that Thy long-expected kingdom may come speedily, and that Thy glory may dwell upon the earth."—Secretan, "Life of Nelson," p. 278, n.

CONCLUSION.

A.D. 1716–1788.

INCREASE OF NONJURORS IN CONSEQUENCE OF OATH OF ABJURATION — FURTHER CONSECRATIONS — DIVISION ON QUESTION OF THE USAGES—RE-UNION — CORRESPONDENCE WITH EASTERN CHURCH — WILLIAM LAW — EFFECT OF THE "SERIOUS CALL" — GRADUAL DIMINUTION OF NONJURORS—DEATH OF CHARLES EDWARD BRINGS SEPARATION TO A CLOSE—RESULT OF THE NON-JURING MOVEMENT ON CONDITION OF THE CHURCH.

> "We fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
> Sleep to wake."
>
> ROBERT BROWNING.

A YOUNGER generation of Nonjurors filled the vacant places. It is impossible to estimate their numbers, but reinforced as they were by the Non-abjurors,[1] these must have been considerable. They are said to have

[1] The name applied to those who refused the Oath of Abjuration.

formed fifty congregations in London alone.[1] Few records of these congregations remain. A Mr. Hawkes, or Hawes, conducted Divine worship for twenty-five years somewhere in the neighbourhood of St. James's. Dr. Welton had a chapel in Goodman's Fields, Spinckes in Broad Street; but for the most part the places where they met, liable as they were to be at any time surprised by a magistrate, oaths tendered, and fines inflicted, were kept secret. In Oxford and Cambridge there were great numbers of Nonjurors, who, debarred from the honours and emoluments of the universities, spent lives of obscure but not unfruitful toil in their ancient libraries. Many were scattered throughout the country. Thomas Brett had a congregation at Canterbury, and another at Faversham; Mr. Blackburn ministered at Manchester; in Somersetshire and probably elsewhere, lay Nonjurors, who lived far from priests of their own persuasion, frequently followed the example of Nelson and Dodwell, and attended their parish churches, using Prayer-books printed before the Revolution, so that they might not see the words of the obnoxious prayers for the House of Hanover. Many, though by no means all,

[1] "Nothing, my lord, appears so dreadful to me as the account I hear of the barefaced impudence of your Jacobite congregations in London. . . . Your *fifty churches* of Nonjurors could not thus flourish were they not sure of the protection of some high ally."—The Bishop of Carlisle to Archbishop Wake, September, 1716.

of those whose blood stained the scaffolds of 1716 were Nonjurors.

Great care was taken to continue the succession, and in the course of 1716, Henry Gandy and Thomas Brett, who had formerly taken the Oath of Allegiance, but found themselves unable to accept the Abjuration Oath, were consecrated by Collier, Spinckes, and Hawes.

The minds of many of the nonjuring clergy, debarred as they were from active work, had been directed for some time to Liturgical study. Copies of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. were eagerly sought for, and Hickes usually celebrated the Holy Communion according to the form in that book. In 1717, Collier, who after Hickes's death acted as primate among the nonjuring bishops, published a tract entitled "Reasons for restoring some Prayers and Directions as they stand in the Communion Service of the First English Reformed Liturgy," in which he pleads for the restoration of the mixed Chalice, Prayer for the Dead, the Invocation of the Holy Ghost, and the Prayer of Oblation, which in the First Prayer-book followed the Consecration Prayer. About the same time a reprint of the Communion Office of the First Book was published. Shortly after, a new Liturgy, on the lines of that office, was drawn up, and brought into use at Easter, 1718.[1]

[1] For a fuller history of the controversy on the Communion

This step produced a violent controversy. Few of the Nonjurors objected to the four points, or *usages*, as they were termed; but Spinckes, Taylor, Gandy, and Bedford considered themselves bound by their subscription to the Common Prayer-book, and would agree to no alteration. Collier, on the other hand, maintained that "the best service we can do the Church of England, is to recover the main of her first Reformation: to retrieve what she has suffered by interested vie·s, by foreign direction, and Calvinistic alloy. Thus I humbly conceive she will be remarkably *Decus et tutamen*, and have new strength and lustre upon her. Thus she will better endure the test of antiquity, be more covered from assault, and stand impregnable." Brett supported him in these views in a work on "Tradition," of which Mr. Lathbury says that it is "unquestionably most valuable," and by the publication of a collection of ancient Liturgies, with translations. The Scottish Bishop Campbell also published an important book on the "Intermediate State," and the need of the departed for purification, in which he states that "to pray and offer for and to commemorate, our deceased brethren, is not only lawful and useful, but our bounden duty."

The strife between *usagers*, as those who adopted the new book were called, and *non-usagers* grew

Office, see Lathbury, "Hist. Nonjurors," pp. 277-303, from which the account in the text is taken.

so bitter that for a time the nonjuring body split into two communions; but after some fourteen years of separation, during which each party consecrated bishops, the breach was happily healed. Through the representations of Brett, the new Communion Office was generally adopted, and in 1631 the two branches of the little Church united in the consecration of Bishop Mawman.[1]

It is needless to dwell on the proposal which the "Orthodox and Catholic remnant of the British Churches" made for reunion—on terms of mutual concession—with the changeless Eastern Church. A long interchange of courteous letters was the only visible fruit of this attempt.

Of the later Nonjurors the greatest and most influential name is that of William Law, whose life of devotion and charity is still remembered in his home at King's Cliffe. His best-known work, the "Serious Call," strongly affected some of the most remarkable men of the century. "When at Oxford," wrote Dr. Johnson (himself the son of a Nonjuror, who had in his youth fallen into careless and irreligious habits), "I took up Law's 'Serious Call to a Holy Life,' expecting to find it a dull book (as such books generally are), and perhaps to laugh at it. But I found Law quite an overmatch for me; and

[1] The Office still in use in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, is very similar to the Liturgy adopted by the English Nonjurors.

this was the first occasion of my thinking in earnest of religion, after I became capable of rational inquiry."[1] And John Wesley, who was a disciple of Law in his early years, spoke of the same book eighteen months before his death as "a treatise which will hardly be excelled, if it be equalled in the English tongue, either for beauty of expression or depth of thought."[2] Of another of Law's works, Bishop Wilson wrote that "Law's 'Christian Perfection' fell into my hands by Providence; and after reading it over and over, I recommended it so heartily to a friend of mine near London that he procured eighteen copies for each of our parochial libraries; I have recommended it to my clergy after the most affecting manner, as the likeliest way to bring them to a most serious temper."[3]

The insurrection of 1745 aroused less enthusiasm among the English Nonjurors than that of 1715. As the house of Hanover became more firmly settled, even those most opposed to them on principle shrank from the horror of another civil war; and when the foreign rulers were dead, and a prince, born in England and trained in the English Church, ascended the throne, loyalty to the absent Stuarts gradually faded away, until it became a tradition which need

[1] Boswell's "Life," i. p. 57.
[2] "Life of William Law," by the Rev. J. H. Overton, p. 110.
[3] Ibid., p. 48 (Bishop Wilson to Lady Elizabeth Hastings).

not sensibly interfere with an honest attachment to "good King George."

Charles Edward died in 1788, and on that event the Scotch bishops directed their clergy to introduce the name of George III. into the Liturgy. The last regular bishop of the English Nonjurors, Dr. Gordon, had passed away nine years earlier, and though some who had separated from the orthodox body still remained, and a nonjuring clergyman is said to have been living in the west of England as late as 1815, these scattered dissentients had but a slight and irregular connection with the regular body from which they sprang.[1] The real Nonjurors ceased to exist on the day when the remains of Charles Edward were laid beside those of his father, in the crypt of St. Peter's in Rome.

What was the outcome of that century of abnegation; of surrender; of those obscure lives lived willingly by men many of whom seemed destined by nature to a place among the leaders of their age? Was it but wasted energy, "all the same as if it had not been"? Or shall we not rather recognize in the voluntary poverty, the self-suppression, the unstained truth, the high-hearted loyalty to an absent, unrewarding sovereign, which distinguished the Nonjurors,

[1] The last irregular bishop, Cartwright, died in communion with the Established Church. In 1789 he had a long correspondence with the Bishop of Carlisle (now in the Bodleian) respecting the connection of the English Nonjurors with the Episcopal Church of Scotland.

forces which quickened and cherished a lofty ideal of thought and conduct through perilous years of chill indifference?

The Nonjurors fulfilled another mission. They, and the large body of complying clergy who sympathized with them, and who for that reason were shut out from promotion, included, speaking generally, all those who adhered to the doctrines and practices of the school of which Laud and Andrewes are the chief representatives.

Those doctrines and practices, discountenanced by the guides selected by the Government for the conduct of the Church, were taught and carried on in nonjuring oratories, in Jacobite country houses, in the parsonages of men whose fathers had lived in familiar friendship with Sancroft and Ken, with Hickes and Kettlewell, with Spinckes and Brett. When the Nonjurors died out, their theology seemed also to die out and disappear. It did but sleep, like the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa in his legendary vault.

"Er ist niemals gestorben,
Er lebt darin noch jetzt,
Er hat im Schloss verborgen
Zum Schlaf sich hingesetzt.

"Er hat hinab genommen
Das Reiches Herrlichkeit,
Und wird einst wieder kommen,
Mit ihr, zu seiner Zeit."

Fifty years had not passed since the death of the last nonjuring bishop, when the Church was thrilled by the publication of the "Christian Year." As the Oxford Movement developed, the line of its descent became clear. "They are the very Nonjurors and High Church clergy of King William's and Anne's and George the First's time, reproduced with scarcely a shade of difference." Dr. Arnold, who wrote thus in 1836 of the leaders of that movement, meant to express unmixed condemnation, but those to whom the name was applied did not reject it.

"I cannot think," said Mr. Keble much later, "that the Nonjurors' position was so very bad or useless an one. I seem to trace our present life in good measure to it."[1]

With this avowal from the great leader of the Catholic Revival, the present imperfect outline of a great and important history may fitly close. It will have fulfilled its object if it aids to recall, in any degree, the fading memories of some of the saintly confessors who laboured and suffered, to uphold the Divine mission, and the ancient faith of the Church in England.

[1] Letter from Rev. J. Keble to Dr. Pusey, February, 1850.—"Life of Dr. Pusey," iii. 226.

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